UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ

FROM MEMORY KEEPING TO MEMORY MANAGING: THE EVOLUTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMORY WORK IN THE CANADIAN BANKING SECTOR

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DIEGO MAGANHOTTO CORAIOLA

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Dissertation presented to the Doctoral Program in Business Administration, research area of Strategy and Organizations, from the Social Sciences Sector of the Federal University of Parana, as a partial requirement to the degree of Doctor in Business Administration.
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Sandro A. Gonçalves

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TERMO DE APROVAÇÃO

Diego Maganhotto Coraiola

"FROM MEMORY KEEPING TO MEMORY MANAGING: THE EVOLUTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMORY WORK IN THE CANADIAN BANKING SECTOR"

TESE APROVADA COMO REQUISITO PARCIAL PARA OBTENÇÃO DO GRAU DE DOUTOR NO PROGRAMA DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM ADMINISTRAÇÃO DA UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ, PELA SEGUINTE BANCA EXAMINADORA:

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Daylight
I must wait for the sunrise
I must think of a new life
And I mustn't give in
When the dawn comes
Tonight will be a memory too
And a new day will begin
Cats - Broadway

RESUMO

Esta pesquisa apresenta uma análise institucional da influência profissional dos arquivistas no trabalho de memória (*memory work*) desenvolvido pelos cinco maiores bancos canadenses. Memória organizacional ainda é tema muito negligenciado na área de estudos organizacionais e a literatura existente tende a tratar o conceito de memória organizacional como algo peculiar a uma dada organização. Os objetivos de minha pesquisa foram: em primeiro lugar, mostrar que ao invés de analisar-se a ideia de memória como conteúdo é mais interessante abordar a noção de memória organizacional como conjunto de práticas de rememoração, ou trabalho de memória e; em segundo lugar, que estas práticas de rememoração organizacional não são exclusivas a uma dada organização, mas influenciadas e condicionadas por amplo conjunto de fatores institucionais. A pesquisa empírica teve como objeto as práticas de arquivo – um conjunto particular do construto mais geral de práticas de rememoração – desenvolvidas pelas organizações da indústria bancária canadense. Os dados foram coletados por meio de pesquisa em arquivos, entrevistas e relatos históricos existentes. Dados de arquivo foram obtidos por meio de pesquisa em revistas científicas, livros e nos arquivos corporativos dos bancos canadenses. Eu entrevistei 18 pessoas, entre arquivistas corporativos, acadêmicos e profissionais de arquivo. A análise centrou-se sobre a influência do trabalho de arquivistas profissionais sobre os estilos de memória coletiva canadenses e as práticas de rememoração adotadas pelos cinco maiores bancos do Canadá. A partir dos dados eu desenvolvi narrativa histórica sobre a evolução dos arquivos as práticas arquivísticas e a mentalidade sobre arquivo s no Canadá. Os dados também foram analisados por meio de análise de conteúdo indutivo. A narrativa histórica demonstrou que o desenvolvimento dos arquivos e do arquivismo no Canadá passou por três fases distintas: a fase de ofício não profissionalizado, a fase de ocupação dependente da história, e a fase de profissão autônoma. A análise dos dados também mostrou a existência de três conjuntos distintos de práticas de rememoração empregados no Canadá, agrupados sob três diferentes estilos de trabalho de memória desenvolvidos por organizações bancárias canadenses. O papel dos arquivistas profissionais no desenvolvimento da profissão e a introdução de práticas arquivísticas profissionais no setor bancário canadense foi destacado por meio da análise e foi possível distinguir três conjuntos de estratégias complementares ao trabalho de memória. Por meio do engajamento em trabalho de imersão (*embedding work*), trabalho de definição de fronteiras (*boundary work*) e trabalho de estabelecimento de laços externos (*outreaching work*), arquivistas profissionais canadenses inseridos nos cinco maiores bancos do Canadá contribuíram para o desenvolvimento do trabalho de memória nas organizações da indústria bancária canadense e para o desenvolvimento da profissão de arquivista no Canadá. A pesquisa aponta para a importância da influência de fatores institucionais mais amplos no desenvolvimento de práticas de memória social e organizacional, para a relevância do trabalho profissional desenvolvido a partir das posições ocupadas e dos recursos provenientes das estruturas do Estado e das organizações na evolução da profissão de arquivista e para o processo reflexivo de reforma profissional desenvolvido pelos arquivistas com o propósito de assumir o controle de seu projeto profissional e definir o futuro de profissão. As atuais perspectivas para a profissão de arquivista sugerem a existência de processo de mudança de um modelo de profissionalismo baseado no Estado para outro centrado na atuação profissional a partir de organizações. As possibilidades de tal desenvolvimento parecem

depender da capacidade dos arquivistas profissionais em repensar e reelaborar os componentes profissionais da prática e pensamento arquivísticos, associando-os aos fatores próprios à lógica administrativo-gerencial de organizações privadas.

Palavras-chave: Memória Nacional, instituições, profissões, arquivistas, setor bancário, Canadá.

ABSTRACT

This research presents an institutional analysis of the professional influence of archivists in the memory work developed by the five largest Canadian banks. Organizational memory is still a much-neglected topic in organization studies and the existing literature tends to treat organizational memory as something particular to a single organization. My attempt has been: first, to show that instead of focusing on the concept of memory as content it is more promising to look at organizational memory as a set of practices of remembering, or memory work; and second, that these practices of organizational remembering are not exclusive to a single organization, but are influenced and conditioned by a broad set of institutional factors. The empirical study focused on the archival practices – a subset of the more general concept of practices of remembering – developed by organizations in the Canadian banking sector. The data has been collected through archival research, interviews, and secondary historical accounts. Archival data has been taken from research in scholarly journals, published books, and corporate archives from Canadian banks. I interviewed 18 people among corporate archivists, archival scholars, and professional archivists. The analysis has focused on the influence of the work of professional archivists on the styles of collective remembering in Canada and the practices of remembering adopted by the Canadian big five banks. I developed a historical narrative on the evolution of archives, archival practices, and archival thought in Canada, and also analyzed the data through inductive content analysis. The historical narrative has shown that the archives and archivists in Canada evolved through three distinct phases: a non-professionalized craft, a history-dependent occupation, and an autonomous profession. The data analysis also shown three distinct sets of practices of remembering grouped under three different styles of memory work developed by Canadian banking organizations. The role of professional archivists in the development of the profession and the introduction of professional archival practices in the Canadian banking sector was highlighted, and three sets of strategies complementary to the memory work were distinguished. Through their engagement in embedding work, boundary work, and outreaching work, professional archivists inside Canadian big five banks contributed to the development of memory work in banking industry organizations and to the development of the archival profession in Canada. The research points to the importance of the influence of broader institutional factors in the development of social and organizational memory practices, the relevance of professional work based on the state and organizational roles and resources in the evolution of the profession, and the reflexive professional reformation process in which archivists engage into with the aim of taking control of their professional project and define the future of the profession. The prospects for the archival profession strongly suggest a change from a state-based model of professionalism to an organization-centered profession. The possibilities of such a development seem to rely on the skilled ability of professional archivists in weaving together the professional components of archival thought and practice to the characteristic elements of the managerial logic in private organizations.

Keywords: National Memory, Institutions, Professions, Archivists, Banks, Canada.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation develops a neo-institutional analysis of organizational memory. Its guiding assumption is that organizational memory must be seen as a relational construct and an organizational field-level phenomenon. Organizational memory comprises a set of practices of social remembering and should be seen as the result of the influence of multiple institutional logics mediated by organizational field-level structures and processes and articulated by different elites and communities of experts by means of their command posts and structural positions.

This work aligns itself with recent scholarship in social memory studies (SMS), viewing memory as an intersubjectively constituted process taking place within broader cultural contexts. It defines collective memory as "[…] a product of institutionalized mechanisms in society – such as the education system, museums, and literature – that establish, maintain, and reproduce dominant interpretations of the past" (Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011, p. 105). As such, the foci of study turn to the social contexts where collective memories are embedded, the ways social memory is formed and transformed, and the factors and conditions related to the way the past is articulated in common remembering (Misztal, 2003).

The main argument is that despite recent calls and theoretical advances in the study of organizational memory in the field of organization studies and business history, the concept of organizational memory is still trapped in a methodological individualist assumption. It is based on a self-referencing definition that places the organization at the center of the process, and attributes too much weight to the influence of inner organizational aspects in the explanation of organizational memory phenomena, at the expense of other environmental influences (Feldman & Feldman, 2006; Foster et al., 2011; Rowlinson, Booth, Clark, Delahaye, & Procter, 2010).

As an alternative, I propose the study of organizational memory to be organizationally decentered and conceived as a field-level phenomenon. I consider the process of organizational memory construction as a relational process located not so much inside the organization, but at the level of the organizational field. Organizations construct their memories under the influence of broader sets of institutions and institutional norms, by referencing other organizations that constitute a common organizational field and with the aim of creating a meaningful past for their members and conveying a desired image to external audiences (Elsbach & Sutton, 1992; Foster et al., 2011; Nissley & Casey, 2002; Rowlinson & Hassard, 1993).

Based on the neo-institutional approach in organization studies, I propose the development of a new theoretical framework for the study of organizational memory; one that could shift more traditional approaches to organizational memory from an exclusive focus on a single organization and its peculiar characteristics and attributes, to the analysis of the interplay of multiple institutional logics, organizational field structure and command posts (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011; Zald & Lounsbury, 2010).

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Given the possibilities of developing existing approaches to organizational memory, as outlined in the introduction, I intend to present an alternative theoretical framework for the study of memory as practices of organizational remembering. This approach departs from a well-established research tradition of collective and social memory studies and the main contributions of scholars from History and Sociology. I have used organizational institutionalism as a way of bridging the main concepts and contributions from social memory studies to the analysis of organizations. From this relationship I forged an approach capable of providing the theoretical structure needed to explore my research question:

How professional archivists influenced the development of different styles of memory work in the Canadian banking industry?

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

My purpose it to study the influence of professional archivists in changing the styles of memory work developed in the Canadian banking sector. More specifically, my research wants to:

- Analyze the historical construction and phases of development of national archive systems and the national debates about business archives in general and specifically in the field of banking organizations in Canada;
- Identify the existing logics associated with the practices of organizational remembering, more specifically the creation and preservation of business archive systems at Canadian banking organizations;
- Analyze relevant changes in the social actors (elites) composition and their command posts, institutional logic pressures, and banking organizational field

structures and processes associated with the development of national archive systems and business archives practices;

- Identify sets of practices of organizational remembering, i.e. business archives, developed by Canadian banks;
- Analyze the similarities and differences between practices of organizational remembering in banking organizations and make sense of the results from the interplay of logics, professional elites, and levels of analysis.

1.3 PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION

The proposed research can be justified for both practical and theoretical reasons. The main argument that sustains the development of this project is that organizational memory has been suffering from a lack of attention and interest from both managers and organization scholars. From the point of view of management practitioners there has been a general disinterest in memory and history in organizations. An organization's past has only been the focus of management on certain special occasions, such as the company anniversary or other kinds of celebrations. In spite of recent growing concerns with corporate history, as reflected in some organizations' projects towards recovering their pasts and the inclusion of history as a dimension of social responsibility (e.g. historical social responsibility), in most cases there has been an unsystematic relationship between organizations and their past.

Issues concerning memory and history have also generally been absent from most literature on organizational studies. The interest organization studies scholars give to questions of memory has been trapped in the psychological metaphor of a 'storage bin' that views memory as past information retained for future strategic use. The study of history in organizations has ranged from 1) the area of business history and its major interest in developing narratives of the history of organizations, projects, products, and their founders and main executives; 2) the incorporation of history as an interesting variable in the study of organizational development and change; and 3) the understanding of organizational history as a pre-condition, a given path or context that the organization must account for in order to accomplish its objectives. Only more recent studies have come to advocate a historical perspective as a fundamental approach to understanding organizational phenomena.

In a brief outline, it is possible to point out that the present research is capable of providing a framework for the analysis of the influences institutional logics, field structures

and practices, and organizational and institutional command posts have on organizational memory. In doing this, it can contribute to a more accurate analysis of the impact of multiple institutional logics rooted in different contexts and historical periods; bring new ideas for the analysis of the existence of a possible mutual constitution between social and organizational memory and institutional logics; indicate ways of studying the influence elites and expertise communities have in the political processes of institutional design; and also present new ways to study the connection between organizational memory, organizational identity and organizational discourse.

The theoretical framework I developed is intended to overcome most of the problems and misconceptions that plague the existing approaches to the study of memory in organizations. I advance an analysis of memory as practices of organizational remembering that are defined at the level of organizational fields as a result of the interaction between various organizations and organizational communities affected by the actions and decisions of elites and experts by means of their command posts and under the influence of multiple institutional logics. I believe this formulation is suited for a much needed realignment of organization studies with issues of history and the tradition of social memory studies. On the other hand, it can provide a better understanding of organizational communities and their relation to existing field-level referents and also indicate a possibility for linking issues of power in organizations with broader social dynamics of control and structures of domination (Greenwood et al., 2011).

While most institutional research on logics have emphasized the role of one level over another (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), my research approach tries to balance the institutional, organizational and individual levels of analysis in order to evaluate their specific contribution to the comprehension of organizational memory. The interest in analyzing which would be the more significant and adequate level of analysis to study the phenomenon of organizational memory reflects a general interest of the area concerning the interrogation of boundaries between the individual memory and the collective memory. This discussion is conceived to be at the center of social memory studies, and also results in the need to question what factors have made it possible for memories to be retained or reconstructed the way they were in order to be available to scientific and historical research (Campbell, 2008).

The redirection provided by the field approach to command posts could provide the necessary framework for reorienting OMS to deal with the characteristics of the broader social context by means of decentering the focus on a single organization and offering an alternative to more functionalist and post-modernist based explanations about the

influence of power dynamics over the constitution of organizational memory. It could also turn the organizational memory construct into a very interesting object for other organizational scholars and could foster future studies intended to better comprehend how organizational memory is constructed, as well as its close relationships to other sets of phenomena, such as organizational discourse and organizational identity. It can also provide a way to analyze the existence of values and processes aimed at maintaining existing power relations (Costa & Saraiva, 2011) or changing an already settled structure of domination. This theoretical construction would even allow the evaluation of some statements contrary to the outlined construction, which maintain that organization archives must be understood on their own before they can be compared because "there is little mimetic or regulatory isomorphism in evidence in terms of [organizational] internal practices" (Decker, 2012).

This research can also contribute to other areas of knowledge and foster the development of deeper research into other related research objects. It brings a direct contribution to archival science studies through the adoption of sociological based theoretical models for comprehending business archive practices (Albada, 2007) and exploring what some authors have been calling 'the institutionalization of the archive' (Manoff, 2004). Besides, it also provides some contribution that extends from archives to museology studies. I believe that because there are some similarities between business museums and business archives, the proposed theoretical framework can also be of value to the advancement of the knowledge on corporation museums.

As to the more practical results of my research, I believe the detailed multilevel analysis of the development of the practices of memory in the Canadian context can inform both government and organizations. The choice for developing a comparative research in banking organizations can be of greater value for the generation of new knowledge and may also be related to practical contributions from the research results for improving national policies for organizational memory and business archives. The most salient advancement I could provide is a better informed tradition of institutional design studies and practice. The most well-known work on institutional design was developed by Goodin (1996). Institutional design studies try to map and also develop best suited institutional arrangements, given a set of desired results and, in this way, are directly motivated to the practical improvement of institutional regulative mechanisms. The understanding of the evolution of Canadian institutional solutions for the preservation of organizational memory in business archives could provide very important information for

rethinking ways of strengthening their national archival systems and the ways of preserving national business memory.

Another contribution comprises the possibility for alignment of organizational memory studies within the broader social memory studies and the correlate field of archival studies. Such an enterprise could stimulate the creation of a shared space of interest and fruitful joint research between organization theorists, business history theorists and archival science academics. Some scholars in archival science are beginning to question the common professional mindset of the traditional archival profession and research and have a manifest interest in studying the role played by power and politics in archival policy issues, and in understanding the power of archivists and the archival profession in forging memory or defining what from the past should be remembered, as well as how the future will see the past. The proposal outlined here deals directly with these kinds of issues in the context of organization studies and points to possible cross-fertilization between both areas that could lead to the production of new knowledge about organizations, memory and the politics of social and organizational memory.

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In this section I will be reviewing some major works related to the study of collective memory and organizational memory. I will evaluate their advantages and flaws and also their capacity for providing a comprehensive explanation of organizational reality. Based on these evaluations I will develop an alternative theoretical framework that takes the neo-institutionalist approach to organization studies as its major point of departure. I consider the organizational field as the principal level of analysis for the study of organizational memory, and analyze it as a product of the influence of multiple institutional logics carried out by elites, expertise communities and command posts at the social, field, and organizational-levels.

2.1 MEMORY AND MEMORY STUDIES

The last thirty years have seen a growing interest in memory studies and a great expansion in the literature of many different areas, from Neuroscience to Cultural Studies (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Even though it is far from being recognized as a multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary effort, recent calls point to the need for the development of an interdisciplinary field of memory studies (Roediger & Wertsch, 2008). In the humanities it has brought a great discussion about the difference between memory and history and a burgeoning discussion about the importance of memory sites and the politics of memory (Le Goff, 2003; Nora, 1993; J. M. Schwartz & Cook, 2002). The relevance of the concept of collective memory has re-emerged in social sciences, associated with concepts of identity and discourse, and a whole area of social memory studies have flourished from them (Misztal, 2003; Olick & Robbins, 1998).

This growing interest in researching collective memory cannot be disconnected from the major social changes that have followed the 'rise of linear historical consciousness' (Hobsbawm, 1972) between the Middle Ages and the 19th Century. From this time on people began to recognize that in order for past to exist in present, it was necessary for it to be preserved and recovered. The emergence of this view is associated by some authors with the increasing pace of social change and the growing distancing of the logics that ruled the lives of contemporary people from those of the generations that preceded them. These two intertwining processes have culminated in the rising of a memorializing ethos which can be synthesized in the view that our society "[…] has changed so radically that it

has lost its memory and become obsessed with understanding itself historically" (Nora, 1996, p. 14).

The first great change in the nature of social memory would have taken place with the rising of modernity and the nation-states and their projects of creating national identities (Le Goff, 2003). The second major transformation took place after First World War in the form of a crisis of representation that was even more vividly experienced with the end of World War II. From this period on, a fragmented and free-floating obsession with memory has arisen within the crisis of the ideology of progress and the break with an objective epistemology of history. Together with this situation an initial interest in social memory issues arouse but did not flourish until the 1980s. Postmodernist scholars have characterized the situation of memory as paradoxical, addressing "[…] the ruptured sense of continuity and the multiple temporalities that they see as characterizing our highly mediated society" (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 120).

Human interest in understanding how memory works has a very long tradition, indeed a lineage of studies (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Some of the first works dedicated to the subject were philosophical writings by Plato and Aristotle. At a later time and having as its origin the roman rhetoric, the 'art of memory' or the view of memory as a mnemonic system used to aid recalling, flourished in the renaissance period. The enlightenment brought light to different meanings of memory, emphasizing its relationship with the self and its close relation to identity. This period brought a disengagement of memory viewed as a conscious act of remembering and a growing interest in studying the kind of memories that arose by association or unconscious manifestation; memory was thought to be a subjective phenomenon, something belonging to subjects' inner life. This perspective can be associated with an intellectual tradition that has as its most famous authors Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, Henri Bergson, and Marcel Proust (Olick & Robbins, 1998; Whitehead, 2009).

The end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw a growing awareness of the importance of memory as a subject for scientific examination by different traditions of knowledge. During that time memory was primarily conceived of as a phenomenon that took place at the level of individual consciousness. This conception fostered the development of psychological explanations for memory and was an important aspect that contributed to the creation of the new-born discipline of Psychology. Until today the subject of memory and memory related issues represents a major theme in the psychological literature and defines a great stream of scientific research in the field of Psychology. In the Sociological realm, Durkheim's ideas directed researchers towards

more collective, structure-based explanations of social issues (Coser, 1992; Olick & Robbins, 1998; Whitehead, 2009).

2.1.1 Collective Memory

The concept of collective memory can be traced back to the work of Hugo von Hofmannsthal in 1902, but the first systematic study was written by Halbwachs, in 1925 (Olick & Robbins, 1998). While the major part of the period that followed the publication of his work was marked by little interest and scattered works on social memory, it is possible to identify an increasing interest in social memory studies since the beginning of the 1980's. Different authors have offered various explanations for the surge in memory studies. Kammen (1995) points to the influence of the rise of multiculturalism, the fall of Communism, and the emergence of politics of victimization and regret as the main factors. Schwartz's (1996) analysis agrees with the influence of multiculturalism but also recalls the influence of postmodernist thought and hegemonic theorists. Hutton (1993) adds the emergence of the history of mentalities in the French historiography of the 1960s and also the philosophical standpoint provided by Foucault's oeuvre. Related to these explanations, Olick and Robbins (1998) consider the influence of externalization of memory to 'artificial sites' and the contemporary impact of new technologies for recording the past.

The first and most widely recognized author in the field of collective memory is Maurice Halbwachs, known for setting out the bases for a sociological theory of memory. Despite a widely held view assuming he followed Durkheim in subsuming the individual under a structural explanation (Fentress & Wickham, 1992), some recent analyses have acknowledged he did not give ontological priority to either of them (Sutton, 2009) and still others suggest the need to reestablish the theoretical relationship between them (Green, 2011). In his first work dedicated to the subject he systematically evaluated the main psychological arguments concerning human memory in order to show that their explanation could not be fully adopted, since they were working with the idea of an isolated individual and not a social subject. Halbwachs (1990, 1992) based his proposal on Bergson's theory of memory, but questioned the opposition between image and concept while working on his distinction between two kinds of memory, one disinterested from the present and the other turned toward action, in order to develop the idea of frameworks of memory.

By the concept of collective frameworks of memory Halbwachs (1992, p. 40) means not the totality of memories of a group or a structure where recollections must incorporate

themselves, but "[…] the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society". Social frameworks of memory are composed of two closely linked elements or systems of conventions. There are the notions or 'verbal conventions', which can be understood as social conventions related to the use of words or names attached to schemes, gestures, things or symbols. The second is a totality structure or a way of thinking that allows someone to organize and make sense of things, places, persons and events by means of grouping their representations into more complex sets of notions and establishing their relative position in time and space, and within and between each other.

As he showed, when people are dreaming the individual memory images of dreams are sparse and randomly associated, lacking the organization that characterizes all other human memories. Dreaming experiences do not have the structure, continuity, orderly progression, and regularity that are provided to the individual by the collectivity, and that is why they cannot be remembered in a coherent way. This analysis paved the way for the first assumption and one of the main contributions from Halbwachs (1992) to the study of memory: the idea that individual memory cannot exist outside of some collective framework on which it relies. Memories are always associated with other memories. They exist as a system that results from the way people are associated. Memory association is a product of the association of people within different groups. To fully understand an individual memory, it is necessary to locate it within the thought of the various groups of which someone is a member. Although everybody is born with the capacity for remembering, individual memory can only be comprehended as a part or an aspect of group memory.

The process of remembering would be the process of locating oneself in the context of some group and in those collective frameworks of memory related to them. The close connection between memories and their resemblance with other memories are due to their attachment to the totality of a group's thoughts and shared interests. The group provides the individual with mind-scripted relationships between facts and notions that serve "[…] to enframe, modify, and recast the image of [a recollection]" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 62). Recollections become located within people with the help of landmarks. The arrangement of objects and events in the mind is given by their chronological order of appearance and/or by the names and meanings attributed to them by the notions of a group. This way, the act of recollection is an act of accessing de novo these contents (notions and images) by means of a structure with reference to the context and groups of people that were involved and who shared the same set of references.

But the exercise of recollecting the past is never a complete reconstitution of what has happened. In reality, it is a reshaping operation of the past. It constitutes a form of reconstruction that is influenced by the present social environment in which somebody lives. The notion of frameworks of memory has introduced the idea that the image of the past is being continually reconstructed based on the current thoughts of the society. This points to the second great contribution from Halbwachs' (1992) studies on collective memory to social theory: the reference to the past must not be seen as indicative of what the past once was, nor even to what it has been, but only to what it is. Past only exists in relation to the present. Past and present develop in a dialectical process by which some traits are maintained, sometimes reinterpreted, related to or merged with other elements of the present.

Regardless of what could have been really happened in the past, memories are reconstructed by current society frameworks, by the influence of present societal constraints and relations. Even though it feels the pressing weight of the present, it is never an unbounded process of reconstruction. The adaptation of recollections finds some limits in the material and structural characteristics of texts, rites, ceremonies and institutions. The reconstruction of collective memory's recollections is based on contemporary needs and ideas but "[…] encounters resistance in the form of material vestiges and written texts as much as in what has become embodied in rites and institutions" (Halbwachs, 1992, pp. 224-225). Hence, past and present are always intertwined and cannot be separated from one another. Every social belief will always have a dual character: it is always a memory, a collective tradition or a recollection, and also a set of conventions or ideas related to the knowledge of the present.

It is worth of note that in spite of the important contribution Halbwachs has had on social memory studies, some authors argue that his concept of collective memory is too ambiguous and ill-defined and can be more confusing than helpful for empirical research. Still others scholars think it did not deliver anything different from other formulations, like custom, tradition, myth or historical consciousness. Instead of using the concept, some suggest the creation of more specific terms such as official memory, cultural memory, family memory, and others (Olick & Robbins, 1998). With respect to this point, I make two notes: the first is the risk of not being able to note that the ideas of individuals are influenced by the social groups to which they belong (P. J. Burke, 1989); and the other is that, despite placing a modifier with the term memory might help to understand it better, it can also result in the creation of too many fragmented and disconnected concepts –

already at 256 kinds of memory (Roediger & Wertsch, 2008) –, which may make it difficult to put them together as a useful, complete notion.

The possibilities for development from this new avenue for the study of memory and from Halbwachs' entire academic project were delayed by the outbreak of the Second World War. In spite of some minor works which were developed after the War, it was not until the last twenty years of the 20th century that his ideas on memory were taken up again. Since the middle 1980's historians have shown a greater interest in studying memory as a mechanism of political power. Important contributions can be found in the Ariès (1974) and Agulhon (1981) studies about commemorative practices, in the widely known works of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1984) about the invention of tradition, and in Pierre Nora's (1996) documentation of French realms of memory. Sociology has seen the emergence of a 'practice turn' and the recognition of the importance of the cultural and symbolic dimensions of social processes. Following the tradition of Manheim's sociology of knowledge and Merton's sociology of science, and also having a greater affinity with Berger & Luckmann's (1996) social constructionism, social memory studies have realized a major expansion since this period.

2.1.2 Organizational Memory

Within the field of organization studies a similar movement has been taking place in the last few years (Feldman & Feldman, 2006; Rowlinson et al., 2010). Despite the fact that the concept of organizational memory and the field of organizational memory studies (OMS) are not new, they are conventionally related to an area of organizational learning and knowledge management studies and espouse a view of memory as a storage bin of stored information for future strategic use in organizational planning and decision making (Walsh & Ungson, 1991). Alternative views of organizational memory based on social or cultural approaches are still rare and ill-developed, resembling more a series of criticism and advices for the development of future theoretical work (Costa & Saraiva, 2011; Feldman & Feldman, 2006; Rowlinson et al., 2010).

On the part of social memory studies there has been a full disregard of organizations as an interesting level of analysis, and at the organizational memory studies there is an overt negligence in dealing with broader social and cultural issues (Rowlinson et al., 2010). In the field of organization theory, some authors have sketched a reorientation of organizational memory studies by means of incorporating social and historical contextual factors in the analysis, and proposing the alignment of organizational

research with broader social memory studies (Feldman & Feldman, 2006; Rowlinson et al., 2010). In social memory studies there is implicit reference to the role played by bureaucratic organization structures in shaping social memory but it is not properly explained in the context of research (Misztal, 2003; Rowlinson et al., 2010). An exception would be the differentiation of collective and organizational memory by Aksu (2009).

In spite of these efforts, it can be said the previous approaches still rely on a rational systems approach to the study of organizations (Scott & Davis, 2007). They tend to conceive of the organization as an entity, "[...] a highly special type of collective, which is deliberately at the service of a clearly specified cause, e.g. profit maximisation or problem solving" (Aksu, 2009), and do not adequately incorporate a systematic approach that can support the view of organizations as a temporary set of changing flows of relationships and activities that link diverse social groups and individuals embedded in broader socio-cultural and historical environments (Scott & Davis, 2007). In order to correct this view, I advocate a conception of organizational memory as institutionally shaped, culturally defined practices of remembrance that take place in organizational fields by the influence of various elites, expertise communities and command posts.

The first mistake of previous approaches is the conceptualization of organizational memory as an aggregate of organizational members' memories. This is the main critique of most recent work about organizational memory studies and relies on the argument of atomistic fallacy (Klein & Kozlowski, 2000) and on the methodological individualism confusion between explanation and micro-foundation (Jepperson & Meyer, 2011). Instead of using a 'collected memory' approach (Olick, 1999) to the study of memory in organizations, some critics (Rowlinson et al., 2010) have conveyed the necessity of conceiving organizational memory as a collective phenomenon, qualitatively different from the individual psychological remembrance of the world, but without offering any paths by which it could be done.

A second mistake is the conception of organizational memory as strategically motivated. A great deal of organizational memory studies have focused on organizational memory as a product of the organizational efforts to build it (Costa & Saraiva, 2011; Foster et al., 2011; Olick & Robbins, 1998). Organizations can invent traditions, construct narratives to convey meanings of particular interest and appropriate social memory, and can preserve records and artifacts that embody both their central values and premises and those of their audiences (Foster et al., 2011; Rowlinson & Hassard, 1993). But it must not flow from these studies that organization memory equals official memory or comprises just the meanings some powerful inside agents want preserved (Costa & Saraiva, 2011).

The third mistake is to analyze organizational memory as a phenomenon belonging exclusively to a single organization. At the core of the criticisms about conventional Organizational Memory Studies (OMS) is their individualist conception of organizational memory. As a solution, some authors suggest organization studies must rely on a 'collective memory' approach (Olick, 1999) and "[…] take account of the specific social and historical contexts of organizational memory" (Rowlinson et al., 2010, p. 69). Although it is important to understand the influence of contextual aspects, the point of departure for the study of organizational memory remains that of a single organization. Organizational memory continues to be seen as an exclusive organizational level phenomenon, tied to a view of organizations as entities or, at best, conceived as a result of some inner organizational dynamics.

As stated previously, the theory of collective memory was created by Maurice Halbwachs based on Durkheim's ideas from the beginning of the twentieth century. His whole approach is based on the idea that individual remembrance is determined by frameworks of memory provided by different groups of society. The author himself called attention to the role played by religious groups, social classes, associations, corporations, and families, and also pointed out that other groups may exist that can also play a role in the reconstruction of collective and individual memory (Halbwachs, 1990, 1992). Even though the appealing ideas he pioneered are of great interest to the study of organizational memory, it is necessary to recognize society has changed since those times (Roediger & Wertsch, 2008) and the impact of these changes must be understood in order to use his theory to the study of organizations.

It is neither of interest, nor possible to try to elaborate upon all of the changes to organizations over the last fifty years. However, there are three highly relevant organizational characteristics that have emerged in this period. First of all, globalization has resulted in organizations being more connected than they ever were before, arranged in broad networks that spans different regions and countries. The second important characteristic is that the rate of innovation has increased and organizations are making significant and constant changes to their structure and technology in order to comply with them. The third major influence is the work revolution: greater diversity of people at work, emergence of intensive technology and knowledge-based work, and the loss of a single employer for life ideal in favour of a flexible career ideal of working for many different organizations with constantly changing work groups and employers (Meyer, Krücken, & Drori, 2009).

What differentiates organizations from all other groups Halbwachs (1992) has studied is that almost all other groups have a compulsory character, while participation in an organization is facultative, more or less subject to a person's choice. Families, religions and social classes are the main groups responsible for the early socialization of children (Berger & Luckmann, 1996) while organizations in general will have an influence much later in the socialization process (Linde, 2009). In the first case, the groups are the very elements responsible for placing the child in the historical flux of the world and giving him/her an identity. The influence of organizations in the constitution of personal identity is a second level phenomenon.

The advice of B. Schwartz (1982) is also important, in that conclusions from Halbwachs' work shouldn't be used to understand realities where ample documentation exists. In spite of the not so uncommon situation of non-preservation and non-existence of organizational historical records (Amatori & Jones, 2003; Coraiola, 2012; Tortella, 2003), there are also other structures that can preserve data about organizational past that are increasingly available to many social groups. As the author reminds us, "given the constraints of a recorded history, the past cannot be literally constructed; it can only be selectively exploited. Moreover, the basis of the exploitation cannot be arbitrary" (B. Schwartz, 1982, p. 396). This posits some limits to the possibility of complete invention of organizational traditions and the construction of its memory, and opens a space for the negotiation of the organization's past.

A third important point is made by Feldman and Feldman (2006) when they try to integrate both sociological and social psychological explanations into the reformulation of the study of organizational remembering. Despite the flaws in their approach, the authors emphasize that organizational remembering occurs in a 'chain of remembering'. Similar to other organizational practices, remembering must be seen as a mainly tacit and historically situated practice, accomplished by organizational members based on previously defined criteria, procedures and routines. As Nora (1996, pp. 8-9) argued, the modern archival type of social remembering has become an institution "[…] in its own right, comprising museums, libraries, depositories, documentation centers, and databases". He says the education of today's professional archivists is at the hands of governmental bureaucracies and private firms, which insist on the preservation of everything; a different orientation from the old school on archives, that has given great importance to 'controlled destruction'.

When I look at the literature on organizational memory I find the most cited and criticized reference is Walsh and Ungson (1991) work. They were interested in providing a more coherent and comprehensive theory of organizational memory and so they re-

conceptualized it in three interrelated ways. While their concept of organizational memory is widely discussed and criticized, because it is based on a 'storage bin' model (Amatori & Jones, 2003; Rowlinson et al., 2010) and restricted to stored information from an organization's history, they also have other contributions that can be of value. In a second stance, they define memory as 'mental and structural artifacts', which is closer to the idea of interpretive schemes (Bartunek, 1984) and bears relation with Halbwachs' (1992) frameworks of memory. And in their last definition, they pictured organizational memory as an 'interpretation' of the connections between decisions and their consequences.

The model offered by the authors comprised an infinite loop: stored information influences decision making and organizational performance and then new information from decisions and performance is stored in the organization and will influence future decisions. Change would be possible by information's: 1) use, manager's decision not to take information about the past seriously; 2) misuse, mistakes in interpreting environmental changes and demands or the use of an inadequate pattern of environmental response; and 3) abuse, the intentional manipulation of memory to retain and retrieve information for acquiring, increasing and consolidating sectional power in organizations.

Although their proposal received criticism, no other alternative has been as coherent as their integrative approach (Feldman & Feldman, 2006; Rowlinson et al., 2010) and indeed there is no need to fully reject it. Their approach clearly shows: 1) organizational memory from one period to the other influences behavior and decisions in the organization; 2) this behavior and decisions have practical implications in organizational performance, but also in other organizational aspects such as structure and power relations; 3) the information regarding organizational memory, seen as comprising both the reading and interpretation of organizational stimuli and responses and the artifacts that make it possible, is 'stored' in any of the five internal storage bins or in external archives.

Their use of 'storage bins' thus provides an indexing of different sources of information about organizational memory: individuals, culture, transformation, structure, ecology and external archives. It also imparts a cross-level mechanism that makes it possible to depart from an individual memory or a 'collected memory' approach (Olick, 1999) to a more collective approach. They conceive organizational memory as both an individual and organizational level construct and explain its partial transcendence from the individual level based on a process of sharing memories and interpretations between individuals and also by way of its being embedded in organizational systems and artifacts. The third important contribution they offered is an organizational level rationale capable of

integrating economic and institutional explanations for dealing with processes of organizational memory creation, endurance and change.

A relational epistemology and a view of collective memory as constituted through the sharing among groups and individuals were suggested by some authors as a way of overcoming the divide between individual and collective memory (Campbell, 2008; Sutton, 2009). Sutton (2009) argues for the use of 'mutual knowledge' and 'plural subject' notions to better understand memory sharing and the process by which members of a group can participate together in thoughts and claims that have a 'we-remember' flavor. On the other hand, Campbell (2008) based her analysis on Baktihn's distinction of three voices, and suggested that the construction of social memory (the third voice) and individual memory (the first voice) takes place at an intermediary dimension: the relational dimension of the second voice. The second voice would be where persons share their memories, while sharing can be conceived as the main explanation for the constitution of an individual memory and also for the existence and continual recreation of social memory.

The possibility of appropriating this idea and bringing it to play a part on the explanation of organizational memory is very appealing but cannot be made without reflection. First of all, there is a great difference between memory sharing at individual and organizational levels. Individuals share their personal memories in face-to-face interaction and in contexts designed to remember, such as in commemoration sites and events. Organizations' memories are also shared by the creation of mnemonic props for remembering, but they differ in that they are shared both as: 1) a context where individuals live their lives and individual remembering takes place; and also 2) as if the organization had its own life and memory, i.e. a collective actor (Meyer & Jepperson, 2000; Pedersen & Dobbin, 1997) whose existence is mostly registered by means of formal entries and publications created by members and others, and also by material artifacts where organizational characteristics are imprinted and from which it gains its historicity.

It is not possible to reduce what I call organizational memory to an aggregate of organizational members' remembrances, much less from them separately. Doing so would maintain an approach of 'collected memories' (Olick, 1999), that views organizational memory as an aggregate of the memories of its members and which cannot properly deal with the differences between individual and collective remembering (Halbwachs, 1990; Rowlinson et al., 2010). Departing from the concepts from Feldman and Feldman (2006), Foster et al. (2011) and Rowlinson et al. (2010), organizational memory can be understood as a set of institutionally-based collective practices of organizational remembering that develops historically and evolves based on field-level interaction between organizations,

command posts, and negotiation processes between differing communities within the organization.

Organizations can be seen as a group of groups (Simon, 1970), as "[…] heterogeneous entities composed of functionally differentiated groups pursuing goals and promoting interests" (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). The interest in viewing the organization as composed of minor groups can also provide a useful approach for following Halbwachs' (1990) calls for studies on the memory of smaller groups. Individuals cannot be conceived of as single, unitary and atomic individuals isolated in society. Instead, they live their lives mostly as members of social groups whose members they are mostly aware of, share most of their time with, and share common beliefs and a common memory.

In choosing to deal with organizations as an amalgam of small groups, I follow a version of 'methodological groupism' (Kaghan & Lounsbury, 2011) that advocates a solution to the problem of methodological individualism and at the same time tries not to overemphasize the weight of social structure in explaining individual behavior. Methodological groupism conveys that individuals can be better understood by reference to the groups they belong to and get in touch with when living their lives. Social groups are conceived of as "[…] the fundamental unit of analysis in an institutional approach" (Kaghan & Lounsbury, 2011, p. 75). Study of the conventions that hold them together and of their interaction and evolution over time is capable of shining some light on the acting individual and also on institutions' 'making' and 'unmaking' dynamics.

The importance of conceptualizing organizational groups for a more accurate analysis of organizational memory finds support in Bell's (2012) work. She studied a process of narrative negotiation and contestation over the memory of an impending closure of the first Jaguar factory in United Kingdom. Where the workers used a *staccato* narrative, portraying the closure as a discontinuous break from the past and representing it as a murderous death, managers used a *legato* counter-narrative that presented the closure as a gradual evolution in the history of the company, a cyclical and never-ending process. Despite how she followed the work of Rowlinson et al. (2010) in viewing the organization as a mnemonic community, her description of the case indicates that it is possible, if not recommended, to conceive of mnemonic communities as also existing within the organization.

The work of Feldman and Feldman (2006) also called attention to organizational groups when studying organizational memory. Working with an eclectic epistemology that brought together different traditions of thought such as the theory of action of Yrjö

Engeström, practice theorists such as Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, management authors as Edgar Schein, Richard Daft, and Karl Weick, and critical approaches based on Michael Foucault, they use the notion of 'communities of practice' as a way of operationalizing the concept of organizational memory as an ongoing routinized process based on tradition. By observing the actions and interactions community members engage in and make sense of, it is possible to perceive of organization as a network of communities of practice: as an emergent collective product of historically and culturally situated practices.

Also espousing a critical approach to the study of memory, Costa and Saraiva (2011) presented a discussion of memory's place in organization studies. Following an approach first inaugurated by Pollak (1989), which emphasized the close association between memory, identity, and power, their analysis conceived of organizational memory as a political process of social construction, where groups struggle to define a formal official version of organizational memory, a legitimate account of an organization's past. They maintain that with time the powerful groups, those who possess more resources, manage to rule out the other competing versions, and their official version tend to become hegemonic within the organization and be imposed as an external past to the other groups. Because of this "[...] the main version, from the official version it becomes the only version, and from the only version, it becomes the unequivocal form of past" (Costa & Saraiva, 2011, p. 1775, free translation).

Their analysis is interesting because they do not restrict their critique just to the divide between organizational elites and the workers, but also extend it to other groups, such as professional historians and business historians. They assume the discipline of Business History and the research developed by business historians is an administrative tool that helps managers to disseminate an idea of organizational memory as a coherent, uniform and unified set of organizational remembrances. The traditional approach to business history is criticized for purporting a single, simplified, and one-sided view of memory. They consider the lack of critical analysis in this kind of study and its interest in depoliticizing the organization to portray an objective description of an organization's past that generates a narrative grounded in a managerial ideology, reflecting shareholders' interests and expectations, and created to suit the specific needs and objectives of the organization and its top managers. Distinguishing the contribution of the practices developed by this group allows depiction of ongoing work directed at the maintenance of some dominant order within the organization.

To be fully adequate, a theory of organizational memory should encompass the influence of broader social institutions, the community of organizations to which it belongs and the overall internal dynamics of organizational groups. It must also provide a good explanation for organizational memory that is not viewed as a phenomenon particular to a single focal organization. Organizational memory is not created inside the boundaries of an organization; it is a product of the interrelations of the organization with the environment and from the intersection of its groups and members with groups and individuals of other organizations. Understood as a set of collective practices of remembering, organizational memory can only make sense if it is viewed against a framework of broader social influences that connects the influence of many institutional logics with the interaction of different elites, expertise communities and command posts in a given organizational field.

In order to better understand the idea of organizational memory as strategically motivated it is necessary to adopt a broader view of strategy and conceive of it as an organizational practice subject to the influence of social institutions and the organizational field and also related to power dynamics within the organization and the society at large (Clegg, Carter, & Kornberger, 2004; Greenwood et al., 2011; Whittington, 1992; Whittington, Johnson, & Melin, 2004). It is not possible to conceive of corporate strategy as a unique and unequivocal set of decisions and politics about organizational actions. Instead it must be seen as something the organization does, a set of practices it develops and which has great implications for the business as a whole. These practices do not emerge from a single organization, but are played out at the intersection of the interests of many individuals and groups based on existing institutional rules and resources that provide both the motivations and templates for their action and the means by which these actions can be developed (Giddens, 2003; Hendry, 2000; Whittington, 2010; Whittington et al., 2004).

An organization's memory cannot be seen as just an 'internal' memory; it also comprises the way different audiences and groups perceive it, including its major partners, competitors, suppliers and clients, and the way they negotiate their memories with one another. It is not just 'inner' groups and members that remember the organization, the idea of a plurality of memories that have as a main reference the organization or are *about* the organization must also include the role played by different 'external' groups in defining and negotiating what from the organization's past should and should not last, what should be incorporated in its formal and official memory and what should just remain as a marginal remembering (Costa & Saraiva, 2011). Following Walsh and Ungson (1991) listing for 'External Archives', the 'external groups' may include: former employees; competitors; the

government and its regulatory bodies, agencies, task forces, and committees; financial service firms; firms that collect data on the performance of companies; the news media; and business historians.

The use of the concept of archives and their connection with specific groups can be very useful for the operationalization of the idea of collective memory in organizations. As other authors have has already recognized: the "organization's recorded history should provide a revealing insight into the past remembered by its members" (Rowlinson & Hassard, 1993, p. 301). Despite a common view which associates the organizational 'official' archive with the organizational memory, considering all other remembrances as marginal manifestations (Costa & Saraiva, 2011), and attributing a heavy weight to organizational managers' capacity for inventing celebrations, traditions and creating a coherent past for the organization, I understand the field of memory to be an ever contested arena (Olick & Robbins, 1998) where some communities have more resources and legitimacy and thus can reconstruct the past in a way more aligned to their interests and worldviews (Roediger & Wertsch, 2008). When collective memory is understood as a product of the influence of broader social institutions, it is possible to understand archives and also business archives as a type of institutionalized mechanism, together with other kinds of mechanisms like the educational system, museums, and literature (Foster et al., 2011; Nora, 1993), which are operated by some 'communities of memory' (W. J. Booth, 1999; Zerubavel, 2003) from the command posts of a given society and organizational field.

Institutional processes leave cultural and material residue (Hill, 1993). Business archives can thus be considered as the material face, or the product of institutions. They can become what Nora (1993) calls 'sites of memory' or be characterized as what Olick (1999) means by 'mnemonic technologies'. They function as memory recovery devices outside the brain and can be conceived of as the very means by which memory is constructed, that is why they are directly linked to issues of power and politics (Olick, 1999; J. M. Schwartz & Cook, 2002). They are created as management tools to satisfy the practical needs and information demands of groups and individuals, but they also result from the social values and meanings attached to them by their creators and others who maintain them. In the words of J. M. Schwartz and Cook (2002, p. 12), "[…] archives then are not some pristine storehouse of historical documentation that has piled up, but a reflection of and often justification for the society that creates them".

That is why the present research proposes to study organizational memory by looking at business archives. It is very rare to find research in organizational studies that

has taken business archives as a serious issue and research object. Even to archival science researchers it seems to not be a very interesting subject, since papers about the theme are not frequently published. There are two main streams of work in this archival literature: one that approaches business archives from the point of view of the technician and intends to contribute by discussing some internal archive problems and opportunities (Cruz Mundet, 2001; Mastropierro & Casanovas, 2011); and the other that pictures it from the eye of the user or historian and desires to analyze the relevance of the collections to historical research, discuss the accessibility and ways of analyzing data, and provide a comparison between the experience and the practices of different countries (Barjot et al., 2009; González Pedraza, 2010; International Council on Archives, 1983; Tortella, 2003, 2011). A good exception is a recent work by Josias (2011).

We begin with the view of memory as having an essentially contested character (Olick & Robbins, 1998). The memory that is retained within organizations is not neutral and interest free (Costa & Saraiva, 2011). On the contrary, every document and artifact has being through a series selection and elimination processes, that could have been more or less intentional, and more casual or more systematic, until it was considered worth keeping and arranged as a historical record - see the concept of document-monument from Le Goff (2003). Every understanding of organizational archives must take into account the remaining 'material traces' (Hodder, 2000) at organization disposal when the archive was first created and also the choices and decision parameters that were defined to make the selection of the records that would constitute the archive. But in order to fully comprehend an archive, the research must go beyond the very dynamics of the archive and ask about the factors that were involved in the decisions for the archival creation and the way its structure and processes, its main rules of operation and procedures were initially decided upon, maintained and transformed with the passage of time.

At the heart of these processes lies an intention of preserving what from the past has remained and is interesting enough to be preserved and also to select what from the present is thought to be worthy of value to keep for the future. Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* is symptomatic of this situation: the author contends sites of memory as substitutes for a more authentic, unselfconscious type of memory practices and traditions that have been lost in modernity, and which would represent "[…] rituals of a ritual-less society; fleeting incursions of the sacred into a disenchanted world" (Nora, 1996, p. 7). Despite the interesting picture this excerpt provides, it cannot be taken to suggest a great divide between two different kinds of societies, one exclusively based on memory and the past and the other sustained only by rationality and the future. It is not as if memory has

ceased to exist in modern societies and it is also not the case that traditional societies were not rational.

As Weber (2003) argued, in both of them people behave according to rational demands, but the type of rationality (Kalberg, 1980) human behaviour was based on in one case and the other was different. A change in the central type of rationality must have been followed by a change in the ways of preserving collective memory and so the interest of research must be directed towards understanding the different practices of social remembering that emerged within modern societies. The nature of this change was explained in different ways by multiple authors (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1984; Le Goff, 2003; Nora, 1996). Synthesizing their thoughts, Olick and Robbins (1998) consistently argued that the nature of social memory has seen two major changes: the first related to the rise of modernity and the formation of nation states, and the second comprising a crisis of representation that emerged at the end of World War I but was more vividly experienced at the end of World War II.

The rise of nation states gave birth to a project of constructing a distinct and unique national identity, based on the consolidation of a national memory. General traces of collective memory shared by diverse communities were amalgamated and integrated under the rubric of the state and then formalized and legitimized by the erection of national symbols, routines, rituals and celebrations. The crises of representation that took place after the world wars was marked by an obsession with memory that pervaded all fields and levels of society and an increasing interest in preserving the present for future past memory consumption (Nora, 1993). Also known as the 'memory boom' (Winter, 2007) of western societies during the late 20th century, the phenomena resulted in "[…] the expansion of museums, the building of new commemorative monuments, and the restoration of historical neighborhoods" (Green, 2011, p. 102), besides other kinds of individual and collective initiatives.

All these changes point to a shift from an initial interest in studying the changing contents in some group's memory with the passage of time to a broader purpose of analyzing collective memory as a set of practices of collective remembering (Misztal, 2003; Olick & Robbins, 1998). The emergence of the view of memory as mnemonic practices or practices of social remembering aligns itself with the recent 'practice turn' in social theorizing (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 2003; Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & Savigny, 2001) while maintaining Halbwachs' breakthrough ideas about the re-constructed nature of memory and the need to decenter the individual and move away from psychological explanations that isolate the individual from the collective as a way of more fully understanding memory

(Halbwachs, 1990, 1992). As a general assumption of theories of practice: practices only exist because they are accomplished by individuals, but they are not created and defined by individuals alone (Barnes, 2001; Schatzki, 2001). A practice is more than what individuals do (Whittington, 2006); it comprises a sketch of what has to be done and also a set of motives and justifications that explain and support its doing. A practice is always linked to a legitimate way of doing something, and so it is related to a set of social expectations and learning processes supported by some social group (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010).

These ideas were taken up by organization scholars with the intention of moving away from a restricted managerial and information systems view of memory to benefit the study of practices of organizational remembering. In spite of the proposed changes, the great question that needs to be answered and that none of the authors or critics of the concept of organizational memory have yet adequately confronted is that, considered just from an economic point of view, it is not rational to preserve organizational memory. It is not interesting to develop business archives and corporate museums because it does not bring better financial results, it does not increase the corporate stock price, and it does not have a direct utility for the efficiency of organizational processes.

The approaches that have been used to explain organizational memory cannot appropriately answer the question of why organizational memory is preserved in the first place. The only way they can conceive of this is by de-historicizing memory or de-memorializing history. In the first, memory is taken as a series of linked events, decisions and consequences that can inform future organization action, but that in order to be available for future use (e.g. as a best practice) must give-up its contextual and historically situated nature. In the second case a decontextualized organizational narrative or administrative solution gains a universal truth-like status to be applied to different organizational contexts. This discussion also resembles Booth and Rowlinson's (2006) critique of the universalism and presentism that inform most of our management and organizational theories.

Memory relies in archives, because archives retain the evidences of what has been considered worthy of being preserved for a collectivity at some point in time. The modern memory is archive-based, it is learned from the archives and it is validated by them (Le Goff, 2003; Manoff, 2004; Nora, 1993). As a modernity issue, it is also an organizational characteristic: organizations tend to be formalized. Organizations tend to maintain records from their operations and transactions as a way of controlling and improving efficiency (Weber, 1991). Individual memory is thus influenced by organizations, by the definitions

about what must be retained and what could be discarded (Aksu, 2009; Halbwachs, 1992). But the rules that state what to preserve and what to destroy are not defined by a single organization alone; instead, they are the product of the influence of multiple institutions, command posts and the relationship between organizations that share the same field.

2.2 ORGANIZATIONAL INSTITUTIONALISM

Based on the overall previous discussion, it can be said that what OMS really need is another approach to the study of organizations, one that could explain organizations and related phenomena with a broader view of rationality (Kalberg, 1980; Weber, 2001). This framework can be provided by the approach of organizational institutionalism. Meyer and Rowan's (1977) work about the emergence of organizational structures through the influence of rationalized myths in society is considered to have inaugurated the more recent tradition on this approach. In that paper, the authors showed that institutional rules from the environment can conflict with technical demands for organizational efficiency and, when this happens, organizations tend to follow society's rationalized institutional myths, even in a ceremonial manner, in order to maintain legitimacy.

They demonstrated that organizations are influenced by many institutional rules that serve as references and constraints on their structuring and functioning. This branch of organizational institutionalism can probably be considered as the prominent approach to the study of organization phenomena (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008). This conflict between economic and social institutional demands over the behavior of organizations and individuals has been developed by further studies and has been at the center of recent institutional research (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Some of the first authors to distinguish different strands of institutional thought were Hall & Taylor (1996), who differentiated between rational choice and sociological and historical institutionalisms, and Scott (2008), who analyzed institutional theory in Economics, Sociology and Political Science. With the rise of this institutionalist perspective in organization studies, there was an interest in differentiating it from previous institutional research, labeling it neo- after the old-institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983b; Selznick, 1996). More recently, some scholars (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) have argued for a third phase in organizational institutionalism, characterized by the emergence of the institutional logics approach.

The concept of institutional logics was first developed by Friedland and Alford (1991), but after that it become a kind of a buzzword in institutional research (Thornton &

Ocasio, 2008). The manifest intention of the authors was to bring society back to the analysis of organizational phenomena. The essence of their approach relies on four fundamental assumptions: 1) society must be theorized as a three-nested-level-social system where higher levels offer greater opportunities and constraints for individual action; 2) society is an interinstitutional system that is not necessarily homogeneous or fully-integrated and can thus exhibit institutional contradictions; 3) institutions comprise material and symbolic dimensions, patterns of activity and time-space organization and also ways of ordering and making sense of reality; 4) individuals, groups and organizations live across institutions and in some situations are able to explore and mobilize different institutional logics – they can contest, reinterpret, manipulate, and change symbols and practices – to serve their purposes.

The assumption of nested levels of analysis maintains that society can only be fully understood by a theory that simultaneously addresses all three domains of analysis and can also theorize about possible tensions between them. The levels of analysis are seen as implicated in one another and are considered to be both an abstraction and a reification. Each level is thought to present a different central duality: between individuals reign competition and negotiation phenomena; organizations exhibit relations of conflict and coordination; and institutions are characterized by contradiction and interdependency (Friedland & Alford, 1991). This approach makes the study of the relationship between the levels, the identification of mechanisms that operate across the levels of analysis, and also the analysis of cross-level effects critical (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

In their framework, Friedland and Alford (1991) consider society to be constituted by multiple institutional orders. Each institutional order has an associated central logic, understood as an integrated set of material practices and symbolic structures that shapes individual and organizational interests and behaviors. These logics cannot be seen as if they were just coercive structures on individuals and organizations. The existence of an interrelated system of institutions in a society make available multiple and potentially contradictory, but also complementary and overlapping, logics that guide the behavior of individuals and organizations and are also available for them to elaborate upon (Friedland & Alford, 1991).

It means that despite the constraints these orders exert over meanings and material practices, to some extent individuals, groups, and organizations are capable of using them to their own benefit. Their autonomy and capacity for resistance and change must be found in the existing contradictions between institutions. Particular institutional logics create categories, beliefs, and motives – i.e. institutional content – closely linked to a

particular institutional context. In case of institutional conflict, people may struggle to defend one institution's values and practices against others, but in another situation they may export or exchange symbols and practices between institutions and institutional contexts in order to transform them.

A more recent definition of institutional logics departs from Friedland and Alford (1991) but also rests on the work of Jackall (1988) in order to see institutions as constituted of three integrated dimensions: the structural, the normative, and the symbolic. Following this conceptualization, institutional logics can be seen as "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). The difference between the concept of institutional logics and the previously diffused concepts of interpretive schemes and logics of action is thought to rely on its emphasis on the constraints and opportunities for action, and also in its capacity for serving as a source of legitimacy and providing ontological security (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 108).

Social actors are seen as embedded in the main six institutional orders existing in Western societies, which provide different grounds for rationalization. These multiple sources of rationality can be found in the following institutional sectors: Family; State; Professions; Religion; Market; and Corporations. There is no primacy previously defined between any of these institutions. They are seen from a historical contingent point of view, which means they are not thought of as being the same throughout history, but as differing from period to period, as also their effects over individuals and organizations. In modern societies the influences of the corporation and the state tend to be greater than family and religion (Mills, 1968), and it is also possible to distinguish a growing importance of the market in the last 30 years (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Besides the temporal spectrum of influence or different historical effects of the institutional logics over individuals and organizations, it must be recognized that societal logics can exert distinct weight over different levels of analysis, such as organizational fields and organizations. The work of Greenwood et al. (2011) was developed with the objective of theorizing these relationships. Departing from the idea that organizations are faced with 'institutional complexity', "[…] incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics" (Greenwood et al., 2011, p. 138), they tried to provide an analytical framework of the process by which organizations experience and respond to the pressures of a plurality of institutional logics refracted through field-level structures and processes.

Greenwood et al. (2011) assumed society to be constituted by multiple logics that can coexist during extended periods of time. These multiple logics can be relatively compatible or incompatible. They can interact, compete, and reinforce each other, constituting 'constellations of logics' (Goodrick & Reay, 2005). Institutional logics pervade and manifest themselves in different levels of analysis. The analytical framework developed by Greenwood et al. (2011) theorizes the influence of plural institutional logics as refracted by organizational field structure, producing institutional complexity that pressures field organizations. Institutional complexity is filtered and framed by various organizational attributes, which mediates between institutional pressures and organizational responses. Organizational responses influence the production of field structure and processes and also contribute to the constitution of the plurality of institutions at the societal level.

The work of Greenwood et al. (2011) is helpful in what it tries to integrate many recent contributions into an overall conceptual system and proposes many testable hypothesis about the relationship between institutions and organizations. In doing so, they follow a common tendency of more recent institutional research in broadening the analysis of the influences of organizational field dynamics over organizations to a more encompassing approach that also comprises the analysis of the structuring of organizational fields by institutional logics, recalling some authors' demands for the development of more field-level analysis and the development of frameworks for comparing differing organizational fields (Fligstein, 1997; Meyer & Scott, 1983; Thornton, Jones, & Kury, 2005).

The study of organizational fields lies at the center of institutional studies of organizations. It has already been considered 'the central construct' (Wooten & Hoffman, 2008) of the institutional approach and is recognized as the most important "[...] locus of institutional processes shaping organizations" (Scott, 2008, p. 16). The most cited definition belongs to DiMaggio and Powell (1983a, p. 143) statement that an organizational field are "[…] those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products". Organizational fields are thus defined by means of the frequency and importance of the relationships between some set of organizations and also with reference to a shared regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive symbolic framework (Machado-da-Silva, Guarido Filho, & Rossoni, 2006; Scott, 2008).

Institutional logics stem from society's arrangement of institutions and get instantiated and enacted in organizational fields and organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Field-level structures, processes and mechanisms shape the nature and the extent of the institutional complexity that face organizations. "It is at this level that overarching sets of meaning and normative criteria become encoded in 'local' logics that are manifested in rituals, practices and day-to-day behavior" (Greenwood et al., 2011, p. 334). At the organizational field level it is possible to identify a difference in status or a hierarchy of logics, organizations, and professions (DiMaggio, 1983; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Greenwood et al., 2011; Meyer et al., 1987). These differences are interesting subjects for studies that explore the horizontal interconnectedness of organizations in a field, differentiating between 'central' and 'peripheral' organizations or analyzing the level of centralization/decentralization in the field. They are also relevant to research that works with a life cycle conception of organizational fields (e.g. 'emerging' or 'mature').

There are two other related concepts about field positions that are of interest to my research. Organizations can be considered to operate in the 'interstices' (Greenwood et al., 2011), or at a location where two or more institutional logics are currently in use. Organizations can also carry out their business across two or more fields (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006) and in some cases might be situated at the borders of a field or develop activities that bridge field boundaries. In both instances, the theoretical hypothesis are the same: on one hand, organizations tend to be subject to more intense institutional complexity and experience institutional contradiction imperatives more vividly; on the other, they tend to develop greater levels of reflexivity and awareness of alternatives, and increased involvement in 'institutional thinking' can release them from some institutional demands (Heclo, 2008).

Organizations cannot be conceived of as if they were merely the 'instantiation' of institutional logics. For a specific logic to have any influence over an organization, it must first be interpreted, enacted and brought in by some organizational members (Binder, 2007). Institutional logics can find multiple paths for entering an organization, as many as there are individuals and groups that can act as the logics' insider representatives. 'Organizational communities' are the main representatives of institutional logics within organizations. When there is a single logic to be represented, organizational decisions and behaviors will reflect its orientations, but […] when multiple logics are represented, the outcome will depend upon the distribution of power within the organization" (Greenwood et al, 2011, p. 348-349). Organizational responses to institutional logics will then be defined by the relative power of each logic’s representative.

As Friedland and Alford (1991) argued, the power of these representatives must also be seen as institutionally defined, and so for a given logic to influence an organization, it will depend not only on the thickness of the ties between organizational communities and field-level social referents, but also on the level of discretion the field-level proponents of a given logic have over allocative and authoritative resources (Giddens, 2003) and their capacity for using ties with organizational correspondents to channel and enforce their demands within organizations. From the discussion of these two 'confounding factors', Greenwood et al. (2011) derived two initial hypothesis about the influence of organizational communities in the relationship between institutional logics and organizations: 1) the thicker the tie the easier an institutional logic will pervade the organization; and 2) the greater the number and the power of field-level referents the more constricted the organizational responses tend to be.

They continued their discussion by analyzing the last two confounding factors related to the role of multiple intra-organizational communities in heightening the experience of institutional complexity and influencing the strategic responses of organizations. The third factor posits that intra-organizational communities differ in the extent and range to which they are exposed and affected by external social influences. More technical core units tend to be less exposed, to be influenced by a narrow range of logics, and to have a more closed orientation than boundary-spanning units. The last factor they discuss is 'institutional immunity', that is the capacity of some organizational attributes (e.g. size and status) to buffer internal members of the organization from the influence of social logics advanced by external communities. They conclude that the greater the size and status of an organization, the greater its institutional immunity, the fewer logics articulated within the organization and the lower the level of institutional complexity experienced by the organization (Greenwood et al., 2011).

We believe this construction of field-level representatives and organizational communities to have a close connection with recent attempts to reformulate the *theory* of the elites for improving its usage by organizational theorists, and suggest their framework can be fruitfully appropriated to study organizational memory using a field-level approach. The elite theory approach is also aligned with a growing concern for the institutional study of power and agency in organizations. Lawrence (2008) clarified that institutional studies about power and politics have employed two main definitions of the concept. Some have studied what the author called systematic power, which sees power as a form of domination and links its use to the definition of the 'rules of the game'. The second is

known as episodic power, and attributes the manifestation of power to the actors' self-consciousness and related mindless self-restricting and rule-following behaviors.

The incorporation of the main constructs from the elite theory (elites, expert communities and command posts) is understood as a fruitful way to develop multi-level studies about power and institutions. Elite theory comprises the analysis of political processes that take place at broader social contexts and are related to social structure and institutions, and also provides a way for understanding field-level political relations and linking these phenomena with intra-organizational power dynamics. The development of this perspective could foster a more interesting and comprehensive explanation of power in organizations, provide clearer links between both external and internal manifestations of power, and also enlighten upon issues of power resistance and transformation (Zald & Lounsbury, 2010).

The initiative of recasting the theory of elites and command posts departs from the work of Zald and Lounsbury (2010), who proposed a set of preliminary guidelines to the development of a field level approach to command posts. In their analysis they emphasized a distributed approach to power, calling for a more nuanced and multidimensional approach that is able to recognize the fluid and historically constituted character of power, expertise and command posts. They also suggest empirical research to analyze the embeddedness of actors and practices in broader cultural structures and their relation to institutional logics that get played out in organizational fields. Following Friedland and Alford (1991), elites must not be conceived of as theoretically preceding the existence of values, symbols and belief systems, which they are commonly thought to define, promulgate and impose on others. Elites and command posts must also be seen as rooted in material and symbolic systems: playing a part in their creation, maintenance and disruption (Kaghan & Lounsbury, 2011; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

To recall this necessary connection between elites and command posts and the already established 'structures of domination' (Weber, 2004) is the main purpose of the work by Reed (2012). Although he is sympathetic to Zald and Lounsbury's (2010) call for the re-engagement of organization studies with elite theory, he intends to extend their conceptualization by first correcting their 'highly ambivalent' attitude to horizontal and culturally based forms of power, and then advocating the need for studying the 'dynamics of domination', or the interplay between positional elites, associated with the institutionalized power of hierarchies, and action elites, whose power stems from interstitial power matrices. His concepts of power as domination and power as network can also be

related to the systematic power and episodic power definitions taken from Lawrence (2008).

In order to offer his advancement, Reed (2012) defines as the explanatory priority of his formulation the interplay between structures of domination, ruling strategies and elites' emergent relations with dominant structures, and modes of resistance from actors excluded from the ruling process. Dominant structures are complex formations, multidimensional hierarchically-organized social structures, which can overlap with one another but also fragment into different strands. Dominant structures must be understood as both the mechanism that lies at the heart of elites' constitution and also the means by which they generate, sustain and contest organized power. It must not be viewed as something given, but as "[…] inherently dynamic institutional formations, inevitably subject to cross-cutting stresses and tensions which ensure that their long-term resilience and continuity are always exposed to pressures and challenges of varying degrees of porosity and intensity" (Reed, 2012, p. 210).

The uprising of new elites is linked with the slower decay of existing institutionalized power hierarchies that took place with the permanent tension and the interplay of dominant structures and emergent network power relations. The emergence of interstitial power networks generates new 'command situations' that can challenge the status quo and promote the institutionalization of new types of power relations into different structures of domination. As a way of providing the analytical toolkit for the development of this kind of research, Reed (2012) suggests four ideal types of elites, each of them associated with a different type of strategy for monopoly control and a major institutional domain:

- Coercive elites: engaged with a strategy of controlling the mechanisms of correction and punishment, associated with the military, security and law enforcement domains;
- Allocative elites: pursue a strategy of monopoly control over the means or mechanisms of capital accumulation in corporate business, finance, industry and communication domains;
- Expert elites: carry out a strategy of control over the means/mechanisms of acculturation and tend primarily to be located in professional fields, media, academia and professional service firms;
- Authoritative elites: associated with a strategy of monopoly of means and mechanisms of regulation, working mostly from central and local governments and representative agencies' domains.

His formulation is also of interest in that it helps to relocate the state to a central position in social power analysis and at the same time provides a way for understanding the challenges transnational (e.g. transnational organizations) and subnational (e.g. regional communities) power pose to national-state governance regimes (Reed, 2012). On the other hand, the proposed framework allows the analysis of the role played by professionals and their expertise communities, which are not always at the service of elites (Suddaby & Viale, 2011) but sometimes can be part of them. Professionals often occupy positions of power and prominence within organizations and organizational fields (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983b; Suddaby & Viale, 2011). It is also worth noting that organizations are the principal means for them to exert their power (Brint & Karabel, 1991) and to develop institutional work (Suddaby & Viale, 2011)

The 'dynamics of domination' (Reed, 2012) between elites, expert communities and command posts are directly related to the intersecting influence of multiple institutional logics in a field. Institutional logics define the dominant rules and valued resources in a given field (Sewell, 1992; Zald & Lounsbury, 2010) and also provide the paths by which power and status can be gained, maintained, or lost (Lounsbury & Ventresca, 2003; Ocasio, 1999). It provides actors with institutional identity (Greenwood et al., 2011) and furnishes them with networks of peer actors that share common institutional references and modes of action (Mills, 1968). Based on these common understandings and the way they acknowledge how institutional logics work, actors purposefully interact, clash and struggle for status and power (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008) and in so doing they generate, interpolate and transmit power relations (Reed, 2012) that in the long run can recast and replace existing structures of domination. Following Suddaby and Viale (2011), as long as I can conceive of field-level change as a product of the interaction between the projects of professionals and other powerful actors existing on a field, I can also believe the maintenance and reinforcement of institutional structures to be a product of the reciprocity and mutuality of these projects.

3 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

I developed a longitudinal research on the memory work developed by banking organizations in Canada through a comparative multi-case study or cross-case research (Stake, 2006). This design was the best-suited choice since the research interest was not analyzing the idiosyncrasies of a specific case, or the case *per se*, but comparing and making inferences about a phenomenon that is commonly held between multiple cases. Based on the longitudinal analysis of the historical process of development of archival profession and corporate archives in Canada and the comparative analysis of the five largest Canadian banks, it was possible to explore the similarities and the differences in the development of their archives and on the memory work developed by them.

The choice for researching the corporate archives in the banking sector was driven by two main criteria: 1) the nature of the banking activity, and 2) the great number of banks that have some kind of structure dedicated to the preservation of its records. Banking is an information-based business. The services offered by banks are to the most part immaterial and involve a great amount of paperwork. Because of the immanent characteristics of the work they develop, banks are very dependent on system of information keeping and information retrieving, and these characteristics make them more suitable cases in which there is an interest in unifying and centralizing activities related to information management into a unit or department. It does not mean that all the files and records they preserve for current use (e.g. in a daily basis) would be suitable for long-term preservation. However, there is a greater probability that they would be interested in preserving this kind of material than some other kind of business that is not information intensive.

Besides the probability of being more interested in preserving their records, the choice was also made based on actual knowledge of the cases. It is public information displayed in the companies' websites that all the Big Five Canadian banks maintain corporate archives. The fact that most banking organizations in Canada exhibit archival units in their organizational structures makes the sector a very interesting case for research. The banking sector in Canada would thus fit into the criteria for extreme cases selection (Eisenhardt, 1989), i.e. the recommendation for qualitative case studies to select cases that most strongly exhibit the features that the researcher is interested in analyzing (Stake, 1998).

This multi-case design also has the advantage of allowing the simultaneous work at three different levels of analysis: the organization, the organizational-field, and the society. As previously stated in the minor objectives of this research and also articulated in the

theoretical framework, I would like to contrast my understanding of organizational memory as a set of practices defined at the organizational field-level with the most accepted understanding of organizational memory as an organizational-level construct. In doing this, I aim to identify how national institutional logics manifest in a given organizational field and influence the development of organizational practices.

The main concepts and the ways they will be operationalized in the empirical setting are presented in the following constitutive and operational definitions.

- Organizational Memory
  D.C. A set of institutionally-based collective practices of organizational remembering that develops historically and evolve based on field-level interaction between organizations and command posts and negotiation processes between differing communities within the organization.
  D.O. Will be operationalized by the concept of corporate archives.

- Corporate Archives
  D.C. Comprehends an organized collection of organizational referencing records and documents produced by individuals, groups, organizations and nation-states that possess an organic nature, are no longer used in the development of daily activities, and have been preserved because it has value beyond its technical, administrative or litigious importance.
  D.O. The operationalization of business archives will be done by the development of archival research and interviews with archivists with the purpose of identifying the nature of the entity who preserves the archive, the influence of social institutions over archival practices, the characteristics of the organizational field and its influence over business archives, historical shifts at archival composition and its administrative structure, the general catalogue of the archive, and the archival procedures of collecting, selecting, discarding, cataloguing, keeping and accessing the records in each historical period.

- Institutional Logics
  D.C. "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and

reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804).

D.O They will have their general traces abstracted from the recurrent patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules exhibited in archival documents and interviews, considering the six major social orders and their different influence over organizational fields.

- Organizational Field

D.C. "[…] those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983a, p. 143).

D.O. It will be verified by the identification of highly frequent and important relationships between some set of organizations and the existence of shared symbolic frameworks between them through the references made by the archivists in the interviews as well as on formal documents of archive.

- Elites

D.C. "[…] constitute ruling minority groups [with sufficient ideological cohesion, political skill and organizational capacity] embedded in structures of domination that give them the potential corporate power to engage in strategies through which their material and social interests might be systematically pursued" (Reed, 2012).

D.O. The relationship and the dynamics of domination between different types of elites (e.g. coercive, allocative, expert, and authoritative) will be defined from the analysis of the historical constitution of the structural arrangement of institutional logics as accounted by interviewees and also as narrated in the media and the documents from archives.

The rationale for this study is provided by the statement that memory relies on archives (Jimerson, 2003). I believe one of the factors that hinders the development of more collective memory studies in organizations is that, besides the divide about how memory should be properly understood in organizational research, there is a great lack of methodological guidance for the study of collective memory in general and there is not a single work to discuss the main choices and procedures for studying it in organizational

settings. I feel the appropriate way to operationalize the concept of organizational memory in a manner that would provide the necessary avenue for us to answer my research problem is to look at memory in business or organizational archives. In no way does it mean that I think collective memory relies solely on archives, or that preserved material traces from the past are the only way of accessing the 'past'. The option for a multiple, comparative case study design thus sounds as an adequate strategy for generating a multitude of data over both the material and symbolic dimensions of organizational memory, as well as for providing access to a historical narrative concerning the development of related practices.

The interest in studying corporate archives is due to the almost inexistent work about the subject in organization studies literature and the lack of theoretical work that has addressed the subject in other related areas. There is a lot of work about modes of managing business archives and some comments and reflections about international business archival systems and practices (Cruz Mundet, 2006; González Pedraza, 2010; Tortella, 2003), but a theoretically based, systematic comparison is still needed in order to provide some consistent knowledge about business archives as organizational memory. This literature gap is the foundation for the development of the proposal of a study with bank organizations in Canada. It is to be expected that banking organizations are influenced from organizational field-level manifestations of multiple institutional logics, which are then refracted by organizational structure, practices, and resources, resulting in slightly different archive practices.

The choice for studying business archives as practices of organizational remembering is also due to two other main reasons. The first is that the concept of archives is easier to operationalize than the concept of organizational memory. It provides a more concrete view of memory, differing from other practices of organizational remembering, like ceremonies and routines, which would demand more field research in order to provide deeper ethnographical analysis. The second reason is that business archives make it easier for us to identify changes in organizational memory, including the introduction of new classes of records to be preserved and the discarding of records that are of no more interest, which gives the ability to track the historical process of organizational memory construction and the values and assumptions that lay at its foundation. There are also other important characteristics of archives that make them especially interesting for studying my research problem:

- The creation of a business archive generally involves a multiplicity of interested actors with different expectations;

- A decision of time investment and resource allocation was made to give birth to and maintain a business archive structure; inevitably made at the expense of other areas and projects where resources could be applied;
- There are rules and procedures, generally formally stated, that define what must be preserved and how it should be done and also what can be discarded;
- The processes of record collection, selection and management are consciously, deliberately, and rationally developed and justified; and
- The archival work tends to be systematic and homogeneous, allowing longitudinal and cross-sectional comparative analysis between archival systems and records.

The present research departs from the assumption that the most important decisions within the organization and thus the definitions about organizational memory are taken by individuals who belong to a powerful coalition in a process of negotiation with other important organizational groups. This assumption implies that in order for some individual or group to define their practices of memory, or to have voice inside the organization to define what should be preserved as memory and what could be discarded as uninteresting remembrance, this individual or group must be able to use power and authority to enforce their positions on the subject. To get information about individuals, groups, and the dynamics of groups and individuals inside and outside the organization, as well as the development of archives and the archival profession in Canada, I relied on interviews with corporate archivists, archival scholars, and representatives from professional associations. During the interviews, I was able to collect information on interviewees (e.g. education background, involvement in professional associations, position inside the organization), and to relate this data to the development of archival practices inside the banks.

The second approach I took can be broadly conceived as 'archival research'. Although it is not possible to talk of a single method for studying archives, the broad concept of 'archival research' generally encompasses the idea that the archives can be a path for the study of organizational memory. The use of documents from archives, or what Hill (1993) called 'residual traces' and Hodder (2000) treated as 'material traces' has complemented the data collected by interviews in order to provide a 'full sociological analysis'. The most basic assumption that pervades the concept is taken from Archeology and attests that human behaviour leaves traces in the material world and that by the study of these traces it is in some way possible to trace back the activities that produced them (Hill, 1993).

The list server from the Association of Canadian Archivists was searched for key terms related to the research object, e.g. business archives. The search was accomplished through three keywords: bank, business, and corporate, and retrieved 263 hits from existing 3,719 documents in the database. Each one of the hits was carefully read and analyzed considering the possible information it would add to the research. The hits were not unique conversations, and thus it was common to reach several replies to an initial communication. Most of the content of the documents was irrelevant to the focus of this research. There were some job offers, pleas for advice and information concerning archives and archival legislation, digests of related news on archives, and information on conferences and meetings. It was also possible to identify some recurrence of most active participants in the e-mail list. From this research eleven documents were selected as of some interest, but with the exception of three documents the others were only of tangential interest. The three exceptions were: a list of the Canadian legislation on archives, some information on the financial cuts at Library and Archives Canada, and a brief comment on the 40 year's work of the Bank1's corporate archivist[1].

The interviews were done following a common set of questions, but open enough to allow the interviewee to explore other related issues that were interesting for the research. The interview script used to guide the interviews with bank archivists can be found at the Appendix I. A modified version of the script was developed focusing on the specific issues related to the other people interviewed. For example, the interviews with both the founder and the actual president of the Association of Canadian Archivists were specially focused on the professional development of the archives and the archival profession in Canada, and only tangentially were asked questions related to bank and corporate archives. As can be seen in the Figure 1, 18 interviews were done with an average time length of one hour and a quarter.

Following commonly adopted procedures of 'informed basic research' (Van de Ven, 2007), with the objective of asking for overt evaluation, explicitly feedback and potential intersubjective validation of the research propositions, three general questions were formulated at the end of each interview with the bank archivists. The first directly addressed the interviewees' perceptions on the relationship between the archive and corporate memory. A second question was if they perceived any kind of contradiction between the fact that it was a private organization which was maintaining an archive and, more specifically, if they perceived any kind of contradiction in the idea of a bank deciding

[1] All 5 Canadian banks and people interviewed were changed for generic names (e.g. Interviewee1, Interviewee3, Bank1, Bank3) to protect their privacy and personal opinions.

positively and investing money in the maintenance of a corporate archive. A third question asked if the contribution the archive brings to the organization was worth enough when compared to the amount of expenses needed to maintain the archives working.

Role	Company	Interviewees	Time	Pages	Characters
Archivist	Bank1	3	4h20'24''	79	171,804
Archivist	Bank1				
Artist	Bank1				
Assistant Archivist	Bank2	2	1h14'54''	29	54,512
Assistant Archivist	Bank2				
Archivist	Bank3	1	1h26'46''	27	54,698
Archivist	Bank4	1	2h01'31''	38	85,385
Archivist	Bank5	4	4h05'06''	80	160,666
Archivist	Bank5				
Manager	Bank5				
Retired Archivist	Bank5				
Archivist	Business Archives Researcher UBC	1	44'31''	12	28,212
Founder	Association of Canadian Archivists	2	2h12'07''	28	83,943
President	Association of Canadian Archivists		1h20'16''	22	45,038
Founder	Toronto Area Archivists' Group	2	53'15''	18	33,946
President	Toronto Area Archivists' Group		1h24'21''	21	50,102
Professor	University of Toronto	1	1h15'05''	21	42,996
Archivist	Bank of Canada	1	41'47''	16	29,627
	Total	**18**	**21h40'03''**	**391**	**840,929**

Figure 1 Information on interviews

The expression 'corporate memory' does not seem to be very used in the corporate context. At least, it was not on the five Canadian banks I studied. All the interviewees understood well the meaning of corporate memory and related it to the work they were developing in their respective organizations, but in their talk they generally focused on more concrete substantives as archives, records, and information, instead of on more abstract terms as the organizational past, memory, or heritage. In some specific situations, the archivists manifestedly said they avoid using these expressions because of the ideas they usually convey. They argued that the archives are not the single responsible for preserving the corporate memory, and that thinking about the archives as the keepers or guardians of the past restricts its usefulness and increases the vulnerability of the department in the organization.

In what concerned the second question, archivists do not see any kind of contradiction in a bank's decision for creating and maintaining archives. Even the case that presented the worst scenario for corporate archives explicitly mentioned that despite the existing problems and the lack of investment in the division, the existence of the archives has never been questioned in the organization. To some extent, the archives seem to

have been taken for granted as part of the organizational structure, a common function or division existing in all Canadian banks. However, many differences can be seen between the work developed by the archives and the role they play in the big five Canadian banks.

The last question was interested in the overall costs of the archive to the organization. The archivists unanimously affirmed that the archives were not very expensive considering the potential benefits they could bring to the organization. In some of the cases where the archives were able to charge other internal divisions for their services or where some kind of compensation system was in place, the interviewees said they were making more money than they were spending. The archives were generally treated as any other division in the organization. As such, it was not unusual for them to have goals, budgets, and provide continuous feedback on their actions and results to direct manager. However, in some instances these activities had a more formal purpose than effective planning the actions of the archives.

The interviews were analyzed following two different procedures. The first approach focused on the development of an overall view on the development of Canadian archives, business archives, and the archival profession. An inductive approach to the analysis data was chosen instead of a more deductive analysis. I selected a first sample of the interviews considered the most representative and most varied considering the background and the characteristics of the interviewees. Five interviews were selected for this initial step of the data analysis process. The interviews with the two archivists from Bank1 and with the two archivists from Bank5 were included in this sample. The other three interviews I chose for the initial coding phase were done with Loryl MacDonald, actual president of the professional Association of Canadian Archivists; Fiorella Foscarini, an academic from the University of Toronto and previous general archivist for the European Central Bank; and Interviewee3, Vice-President of Government and Regulatory Affairs at Bank5.

While reading the interviews, I took some quick notes about their overall content, some interesting passages, and potential issues that would later help me defining the major analytical categories. After recalling the main issues discussed in each interview and getting a general impression on the position of each interviewee, I started coding the texts with the help of Atlas.ti. I first converted all the documents to Rich Text Format and then imported the files into the system. I used the same initial sample to start the first phase of the inductive coding process. My decision has taken into account the fact that the interviews were initially selected because they were supposed to be good representatives of the different groups of interviewees and the overall issues I was interested in studying.

Additionally, after reading them once again I was very familiar with the issues discussed in each one of them and I felt better able to identify existing similarities and differences in their contents.

The overall qualitative analysis of the interviews has followed the steps of the Gioia's methodology (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012). The initial inductive construction of the categories was similar to the 'constant comparative method' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The set of categories generated with the reading of the first interview served as an initial list to be used in the second interview, and these categories accumulated over time to be applied to the following interviews. There were no established limits to creating new categories, neither to renaming or merging existing ones. The goal of this first phase was to be able to identify the greatest number of potentially interesting issues to further exploration. The output of this process has been the emergence of 176 first-order categories.

Once I finished coding all the five interviews I carefully analyzed all the excerpts and the codes attribute to them. In this process, some of the categories were renamed, others eliminated, and still others were merged. The objective was to remove unnecessary codes by looking at redundancies, overlappings, and duplications. A second review was done with the aim of reducing the number of categories by distilling those first order themes into broader, second order categories. I developed the second-order categories by abstracting from the categories created in the first phase of the coding process. The number of codes was reduced from the original 176 to 17.

Instead of moving on to the abstraction of categories, I used these preliminary 17 thematic categories to perform a new throughout analysis of the interviews with each bank archivist. To perform this secondary analysis, I started with the thematic structure provided by the primary analysis and added or reduced categories considering the information provided in the interviews. When I finished coding all the interviews, I consolidated the primary and secondary categories, eliminating redundancies and separating the broad elements talked about by the interviewees. I ended up with 9 broad subjects they talked about: 1) the bank and the archive; 2) the content of the archives; 3) the work of the archives; 4) the challenges of the archive; 5) the strategies of the archives; 6) the archivists; 7) professional matters; 8) power and recognition; 9) public sector.

Based on the content grouped in each category two additional phases of interpretive analysis of the data were developed. The first was done with the aim of identifying the temporal evolvement of activities related to the evolution of the archives, the professional archival project and the establishment of the archives in Canadian banking organizations.

This analysis followed a common procedure in studies of institutional work and was based on the categorization of the data with broader action categories defining who the actors were, what they have done, how they have done it, and why they have done what they did (Lawrence, Leca, & Zilber, 2013; Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Rojas, 2010). The findings of the analysis were used to map the scholarly debates on archives, and review the historical development of the profession in Canada.

The second step was to develop a content analysis of the data. I reanalyzed the content assembled to each subject and identified first-order codes, going back to the main interview when necessary. When I finished defining the first-order codes, I performed 'axial coding' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) assembling the first-order codes into second-order codes. I applied a forced choice decision (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), so no first-order code was left behind. The second order codes were then informed by the literatures on institutional theory, archival studies, and professions. Together with the archival research and mapping of the evolution of the debates on archival theory, the construct of memory work emerged from the analysis, associated with the three main phases of development of archival thought and profession in Canada. An ideal construction of these styles of corporate memory work can be found in Figure 2, on page 89.

Further analysis of the data focused on the existing difference between archives from different banks. Archivists have shown a different understanding of the role of the archives and responded differently to similar sets of challenges inside the organization. In an attempt at discovering different practices they were engaging into in order to guarantee the survival and development of the archives inside the corporate structure, I focused the analysis on the work of the archives, the challenges they reported to face, and the strategies they were developing for the archive. I was able to isolate three different sets of strategies archives engage in and associate these strategies to different understandings of the role of the archives inside the organization and to the use of different memory work styles and different strategies of support. The movement from first-order concepts into the three strategies of embedding work, boundary work, and outreaching work can be found in the Appendix IV. Representative quotations for each category are presented in Appendix V.

In parallel to the analysis of the interviews I have developed a dual analysis of the development of archives and archival thought in Canada books and articles. I focused on the books published by the Association of Canadian Archivists on the subject, and on the most important scholarly journals in the area of Archival Science. The journals were selected by their relevance in the field of study and their influence on the development of

Canadian studies. The relevance of the journals was accessed through the Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) 2010 Ranked Journal List. This is the most common rankings used in the field of Archival Science. The ERA ranking is developed by the Australian Research Council. In the 2010 edition, the journals were first included by suggestion and were ranked after their performance in one of 4 grades: A+; A; B; and C. A new evaluation was done in 2012, but they decided to change the classification system in this edition to provide unique grades to the journals based on their levels of citations, and they did not make available a revised ranking. The relevance for the development of Canadian archival studies was accessed by overviewing the most common journals listed in the references of articles published in Archivaria, the journal of the Canadian Association of Archivists. Additionally, I evaluated the amount of Canadian content in each of the journals through a simple search in the publication.

ISSN	Journal	ERA	Canadian Content
1923-6409	Archivaria	A+	≅ 330 records
1573-7519	Archival Science	A+	≅ 150 records
0360-9081	The American Archivist	A-	≅ 65 records
2164-6058	Archives & Manuscripts	A-	≅ 10 records

Table 1 Journal Articles Analyzed
Source: Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) and Proquest.

I approached the journals through a general subject research and selected the main works talking about history and archives, archival depositories, and archival profession. After reading some of the papers I started following the references and the flow of the debates in archival science, and started connecting themes and subjects, authors and papers, until I had a clearer view on the phases of development of archival thought in Canada. The study of Canadian history of archives was also very informative since most of the debates and the recovery of historical though on archives was made as an attempt of evaluating the actual state of the profession. I was then able to connect the developmental phases of archival history and archival thought in Canada, and connecting it to the interviews to detect the most common approaches or styles of memory work in Canadian banking organizations over the 20th century.

In the following paragraphs I introduce the history of the development of archives in Canada in its three major phases. To each phase I have associated specific analytical landmarks as a form of distinguishing them. I then outline the three general styles of memory work banking corporations have engaged in over time: memory-keeping, memory-building, and memory-managing. The actual co-existence of the last two models is then commented on and distinguished. The last part of the analysis relates these two styles of

memory work with the complementary practices of organizational archival development and exemplifies it with the cases studied.

4 EVOLUTION OF THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES

I identified three broad periods of development of the field of archives and the profession of archivist in Canada[2]. The changes in the field of archives can be considered among the most important forces conditioning the development of corporate archives in the Canadian banking industry. The first phase can be considered a proto-institutional phase. It is a very unstable, loose and fragmented period when the first concrete collective actions for preserving the nation's heritage started to develop, resulting in the creation of new social structures, roles and regulations regarding Canada's historical records. The second phase is characterized by the sedimentation of the institutional structures. Archivists were able to articulate a clear and legitimate definition of social purpose and to sustain the development of national institutions through a fundamental link with the writing of history as a way to a glorious national past. The third phase is characterized by the rupture of that essential link and the collective search for a new foundation for the activities of archives and archivists. It encompasses a broad reflection and overall restructuration of the profession, professional thought, and professional organizations that is still developing, although the main characteristics seem to have already been settled. The historical narrative (Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, & King, 1991) was the chosen format to describe each of these phases and distinguish some of the general features that characterize them.

4.1 1ST PHASE – PROTO-INSTITUTIONAL

The first analytical phase in the development of archives in Canada is predicated on the watershed event of the creation of the Public Archives Canada in 1912. This is the period that precedes and yet culminates with the definition of a clear ideological orientation and an administrative structure under the bureaucracy of the state exclusively responsible for the preservation of national archives. This is the time when the 'noble dream' of building a place for storing all the facets of Canadian memory is given birth, when the basic concepts and major guidelines for the perpetuation of the nation's heritage are defined. The actions and decisions taken in this period would reverberate and influence all subsequent practices of archival management in Canada. It is the beginning of a long bonding together of history and archives, a start as intellectual disciplines and professional activities. The first special interest and professional associations were founded in this

[2] A slightly different classification is presented by Millar (1998). Although the author also identifies three broad periods, she did not specify any analytical landmarks or sets of criteria differentiating them.

period. The vocabulary, theories, techniques, and the overall craft of the work in archives started to develop in Canada in its modern form from this moment on. The archivists' main purpose was then to set up a basic structure of archives for a new nation.

There is an intrinsic historical connection between the archives and the nation. Modern archives can be thought of as a result of the rising of the democratic state, the establishment of national boundaries, and the emergence of history as a scientific enterprise. A new, modern era of archives administration has emerged after the French Revolution (Posner, 1940). This era has been characterized by three main consequences the Revolution has brought for archives and archivists: 1) it helped establish a structure for overlooking all existing archival depositories in a given country; 2) the state has taken responsibility for preserving the national heritage; and 3) the archives of the nation were opened for public access. Posner's (1940, p. 162) thesis is that these ideas "constitute the main currents underlying the archival development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries". They strongly influenced the development of archival practices and institutions in Canada, culminating with the 1912 Public Archives Act and the creation of an autonomous structure of national archives in Canada.

The precise date when 'archives' was first used in Canada with the modern connotation of the term is not known. Neither when 'archivist' was first employed to designate a job opportunity, the set of tasks developed by an employee, or an occupation. The work of archives was already there. The activities of collecting, appreciating, organizing, and retrieving the information stored in the records were taking place in public and private organizations, albeit generally not as standardized, planned and systematic as they would later become. The fact is that the term archives and archivist have been used as early as 1724, when the first archivist in Canada was appointed in New France. The first proposal for the creation of an archival repository would follow his nomination, the year was 1731 (Coles & Baird, 1988). A similar event would happen in English Canada. By 1838, Thomas Beamish Akins was appointed the first archivist of Nova Scotia. His work would later result in the creation of the Public Record Office (1857), predating the founding of the Dominion Archives (1872) and future Public Archives Canada (C. G. o. C. Archives, 1980).

The Public Archives Canada was created after the *Archives Nationales* in France, which symbolizes a rupture with traditional administrative archives and the beginning of a historical institution of archives. A separation of records prior to the Revolution and the records still active "determined a material and theoretical distinction between administrative and historical archives, which is still present in Romance countries and

corresponds to the German distinction between *Registratur* and *Archiv* and to the Anglo-Saxon distinction between records and archives" (Duranti, 1993, p. 50). With the rising of the French National Archives, there has been the spread of a specialized service of public archives to other countries in Europe, and later to the rest of the world. The emergence of a consciousness on cultural heritage and on the historical relevance of the records was associated with the development of a nationalist project of history writing. The idea was to elaborate a history of the nation by depicting the major and decisive events of its past, and showing the single history of a single people united under a single shared past. The 'scientific' history movement of the mid 19th century was probably the most important influence connecting the work of historians and archivists in the development of a national history.

But the Canadian Public Archives was different from most other national archives. National archives were usually created as government records office, and only later changed into national archives. The difference is associated with the fundamental separation instituted by French Revolution between the work for administrative purposes and historical aims. The government of Canada created the archives and the records office as separated units, and only later brought them together into a single agency. The origins of Public Archives of Canada must be found in the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, founded in 1824. This history-friendly organization was completely dedicated to collecting and publishing historical documents, as well as developing historical research on Canadian issues. The Canadian Confederation[3], responsible for the formation of the federal Dominion of Canada in 1867, brought a renewed interest in writing of national history. As Wilson (1993, p. 63) points out, this event "[…] brought with it the excitement of nation building and the problem of linking the separate historical traditions of each of the provinces. That historical writing and the evolution of a national consciousness were inextricably linked seemed commonplace".

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec believed that a fundamental connection existed between history and the creation of a nation state. They were important actors in convincing the federal government of an essential connection between the existence of national archives, the writing of national (also nationalistic) history, and the development of a patriotic national consciousness (W. I. Smith, 1993). The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec elaborated a petition for the creation of a facility to store the nation's historical archives. It was signed by more than fifth authors and scholars and

[3] The Canadian Confederation was the creation of the Federal Dominion of Canada in 1867.

addressed to the Canadian Parliament with the endorsement of the Canadian Library Committee. In 1872 the Archives Branch of the Department of Agriculture was created. The same year the journalist Douglas Brymner was named the first Dominion archivist. The archives embodied the interests that shaped its creation, and it became responsible for collecting all types of records with historical value. Brymner's mandate was focused on establishing and overseeing a national archives repository. "In any case Brymner correctly perceived his role as primarily cultural rather than administrative and during the next thirty years he was to lay the foundation for a Canadian national archives based on a broad conception of the nature and extent of archival materials" (Smith, 1993, p. 136).

The Confederation also brought the creation of the Department of the Secretary of State. The Department was originally created during the Confederation, but the Act of its creation dates from 1868. With its creation, it assumed the civic and cultural affairs responsibilities that were originally attributed to the Provincial Secretaries of Canada East and Canada West. Among the responsibilities it inherited, the Department was also granted the special responsibility of keeping the public records of the nation. Atherton (1993) localizes in the work of this office the Canadian version of the 'public records office' and clarifies that although the records management function was not very clearly defined at first, "[…] the gradual evolution of Treasury Board as overall manager of the public service provides an important thread for the development of a central control over records management in the federal government" (Atherton, 1993, p. 86).

However, instead of two agencies with distinct but complementary tasks, "the result was that, within a decade after Confederation, two agencies existed with responsibilities for archival storage of historical public records" (Atherton, 1993, p. 86). The most immediate consequence of the creation of both the Department of the Secretary of State and the Archives Branch was the production of an overlapping jurisdiction between the two and no real agency interested and responsible for keeping the current records from the Canadian government. The emphasis on the historical value of the archives over their legal or administrative value was the predominant view on the Archives, and would remain almost unchanged until the 1950s. Part of the problem was that the Archives did not have the authority to acquire such records. It would struggle during the entire first half of the 20th century for getting the authority and developing a system to manage the archival records of the Government of Canada. The separation of these functions would only be overcome under the administration of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, whose achievement "[…] transformed the National Archives into an administrative arm of the Canadian government as well as a major national cultural institution" (Nesmith, 1993, p. 12).

Brymner have been the head of the Public Archives Canada for about 30 years. His legacy extends far beyond his contributions to the acquisition of historical records on the French and English colonial periods. First, he established a direction for the Archives that became a mantra referred to as his 'noble dream'. The reference is to a communication he made at the American Historical Association, where he would have said: "my ambition aims at the establishment of a great storehouse of the history of the colony and colonists in their political, ecclesiastical, industrial, domestic, in a work every aspect of their lives. It may be a dream, but it is a noble dream" (Smith, 1993, p. 137). And second, as a way of making his dream come true, he started a uniquely Canadian tradition of archives that would later be known as the 'total archives' approach. "In pursuit of this broad cultural aim, Canadian archives acquired a wide range of visual and textual documents, as well as publications and even artifacts, from both private and public sources in Canada and Europe" (Nesmith, 1993, p. 11).

The notion of 'total archives' best characterizes the Canadian management approach to national records. It has already been considered a very loose term that accepts multiple and possible contradictory meanings, but Canadian archivists generally agree on the existence of four or five dimensions for the concept. The main thrust of the idea of 'total archives' is that nothing should be lost to the past. The first characteristic is that it does not distinguish between public and private records, since the archives should keep both types of records. The second principle implicit in the concept is that the archives should collect all types of media, and not only the traditional printed media. Additionally, the archives should acquire whole family of records, the totality of records from a given source. The third dimension considers that there should be no subject division or subject specialized archive, and "[…] all subjects of human endeavor should be covered by a [single] repository" (Smith, 1993, p. 145). The fourth notion refers to the total participation of the archival organization in the life cycle of the record, since its creation until its final disposition. A fifth dimension mentioned by Smith (1993) makes reference to the need of a network of archival organizations dedicated in preserving the records for their historical significance.

Two immediate consequences resulted from the changes in the orientation of the archivists from keepers of administrative and judicial records to keeper of historical records. The first was a complete neglecting of administrative records. As a matter of training and demand, the archivists started to consider as relevant only records of some historical value. They became negligent with the regular transfers of governmental records, considering them as records of minor importance. The second change was also a

direct result from the practicalities of their work. When historians became their main clients, their most important public, they also became a great influence in the work developed by the archivists. Important for historians was the ability for them to access the information contained in the archives so their could develop their research. Of little importance was the way the information would be made available for him. A simple solution found by the archivists was to draw on their knowledge from librarianship and arrange the records based on a classification system of subjects, thus overlooking the origins of the records.

A middle ground movement providing some corrections to those excesses would only arise with the emergence of the notion of *respect des fonds*. This concept provided a direction for respecting the origins of documents. The advent of the *respect des fonds* is considered a watershed event, the critical point where modern archival theory is born (Bartlett, 1992). Although its firs usage is attributed to the French Ministry of the Interior in 1841, the most famous articulation of this essential principle of archival practice was found in Muller, Feith and Fruin in their 'Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives' from 1898, widely known as the Dutch Manual. The First International Congress of Archivists took place in Brussels in 1910, and ratified the correlate principle of provenance as essential for the arrangement and description of the archives. This brought even more acceptance to their principles and helped their ideas to spread worldwide (Geller, 1983).

To understand the enormous impact produced by the 'Manual' in the archival community worldwide, already called the "bible for modern archivists" (Schellenberg, 1956, p. 175), it must be placed in the historical context the evolution of archival work and the process of professionalization of archivists. The goal of the authors was to provide a uniform set of rules and procedures to be used in the development of archival work. Even though their publication was based on the Dutch tradition of archives, they worked hard to make it also useful for other national contexts, adapting and collaborating with revisions and translations of the book. The book was thus fundamental in standardizing the professional practice of archives. It provided a core reference from which the archivists were able to learn from and to speak to. But more than a standard from regulating archival practice, it was also "[….] an instrument of the new profession through which it could establish its own professional definition of reality, for its own members as well as its societal environment" (Horsman, Ketelaar, & Thomassen, 2003, p. 264).

The Manual helped to disseminate a more balanced approach to historical and administrative records in the archive. They became more attentive to the need of establishing ties with other administrative bodies, participating in the definition of the types

of documents that should be preserved, and defining the periodicity of the transfers from the other units to the archives (Posner, 1940). The joint approach to historical and current records suited European countries with their large bureaucracies and policing-citizens activities (Duranti, 1993) as well as North American countries with their not-so-old historical records and increasing volume of current records (Smith, 1993). However, differences in the general kind of records in North America, more recent in comparison to records from Europe, have been used as a strong argument in favour of the adoption an approach focused on an arrangement of records based on subjects than on the idea of provenance.

The orientation provided by the concept of provenance was not easily adopted in the archival practices in the United States and Canada. Actually, the introduction of the notion of provenance into Canadian archival practices would take place only in the 1950s, and by influence of their American counterparts. The difference between the European view and the North American approach to archives is from the start conceptual. While Americans distinguish between records and archives and attribute historical values only to the last group, Europeans use the term archives to encompass both concepts, meaning "all records since creation" (Duranti, 1993, p. 49). Additionally, the European tradition of archives was based in a contextual approach to the records. This approach considered that it was not possible to grasp the meaning of a text or appreciate the value of a document without understanding the context of production of the records. The records were not self-contained entities that could be fully understood based on their contents. Instead, they should be analyzed in contrast to their origins as well as to their relations with other records (Nesmith, 1993). This was the meaning of the concept of provenance – itself embodied in the notion of *respect des fonds* and original order –, and constituting the foundation of the European archival approach to recorded communication.

American archivists have looked at the concept of provenance as belonging to the European tradition, and its requirements were thought to be less complex in North America due to the recenticity of their records. They assumed that because their records were not as old as the records European archivists used to work with, the relationship of a particular document to a particular function would be more easily determined. This was at odds with most 19th Century European archival knowledge, and would generate a different tradition of records management. The first recognition of records management as a professional activity and a body of knowledge occurred in the United States in 1941 when the Society of American Archivists renamed its Committee on Reduction of Archival Material to Committee on Records Administration, and the commitment of the American National

Archives to develop a 'records administration program' to assist the separation of government records that should be kept for use, discarded, or transferred for final deposit at the Archives (Evans, 1967).

A slightly different situation happened in Canada. Even though they have also developed their particular traditions to manage the current records of the nation (Atherton, 1985), the historical value in the records was really what the archivists were looking for. The records from the administration were of secondary interests to the work of the historian-archivists. They were focused on ancient records and did not pay much attention to the current records produced by governmental agencies. As Smith (1993, p. 134) explains it, the situation was not only due to ideological orientation, but also because "[…] records often went to archives only after long delays and often the initiatives for transfers and even destruction were left to departments". But regardless of the differences between the management of records and archives in the United States and Canada, both groups of archivists differ from their Europeans peers in that they established […] their professional credentials primarily on the efficient retrieval of archival documentation and information for users rather than on a need to provide an extensive preliminary explanation to the user of the context in which the documents were created" (Nesmith, 1993, p. 2).

Douglas Brymner died in 1902, but "the physical results of his work, the inspiration of his 'noble dream', and his sense of common purpose with the historical community long survived his death" (Wilson, 1993, p. 69). Although he received recognition and honours still in life, the scope of his influence and the strength of his contribution to the development of history and archives in Canada came to be fully appreciated only with the passage of time. One year after his death, the positions of Archivist and Keeper of the Records were combined into a single position of 'Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records'. Sir Arthur George Doughty was the first appointed to the position in 1904, and would remain there until 1935. The Archives continue to report to the Minister of Agriculture. They acquired the records from the old Records Office, and the responsibility of collecting, preserving, arranging, and making available the records of the Government. However, the Dominon Archivist remained to serve a cultural instead of an administrative purpose. Brymner's direction for an archive of historical records has found continuity in Doughty's administration, and little was done to provide an adequate structure for the preservation of the currents records of the state. "The Order in Council was based solely on the need to preserve records for their value as historical evidence, with no recognition of the need to retain them for the use of the Government itself, or to protect legal rights" (Atherton, 1993, p. 86).

4.2 2ND PHASE – SEDIMENTATION

The next great change would be the creation of the Public Archives Canada in 1912, which is also the analytical landmark that demarcates the beginning of the **second phase** of development of archival practices in Canada. This is a very prolific period for both historians and archivists. Both history and archival science established themselves as recognized occupations. They were created as a perfect fit with the nationalist project of the state, and would work hard to make the dreams that laid the ground for their existence to come true. Archival profession came to existence, albeit an existence completely dependent on the discipline of history and on the work of historians. The archivist would become an accessory professional to the historian. The production of truthful historical accounts was the final purpose that gave meaning to the preliminary task of collecting historical evidence. The records to be preserved were defined based on their value to historical research. Archival practices as acquiring, appraising, and classifying records were all subjected to task of making historical information most easily available for historical analysis. Archivists should be trained in History, but they were expected to learn the archival craft on the job. They were a part of the historical community. They were invited to conferences and events in the field of history. Their knowledge should be up-to-date with the most recent literature in Canadian history, they should to present communications on the availability of new sources for historical research, and maybe sometimes, they might as well publish some piece of historical work themselves. All their work was thus focused on a simple goal: how better serve the needs of history writing.

Influenced by broader social movements of the period and also inspired by the Rankean tradition in historiography, the bureaucratic structure of the state that existed to preserve administrative records was focused on collecting records based on their historical value. Under the Brymner-Doughty administration, the archives became important not "[…] to settle legal disputes and to support the administrative apparatus [but] as a source of knowledge about the history of their cities and thus about the heroic acts of their own forefathers" (Horsman et al., 2003, p. 249). The face of the national archives changed from a governmental office interested in current records for administrative purposes into a scientific institution oriented to ancient records valued as sources for a glorious national past. This transformation has been accompanied by changes in the people developing the work (scholars instead of former officials), their training and formal education (history and librarianship instead of governmental writing and registry work), and the overall activities developed by them (arranging and cataloguing instead of looking after the archives and

weeding of used records) (Posner, 1940). The creation of the Provincial Archives by the Archives Act of 1912 was thus "[…] the formal endorsement of Brymner's 'noble dream'" (Smith, 1993, p. 137).

Doughty also had ambitious projects for the Provincial Archives. He believed the access to historical sources to be the building blocks for creating a new historiography, and the writing of Canada's history as the ultimate step in the creation of an united and patriotic nation. As the Quebec Literary and Historical Society before him, he saw in the knowledge of the Country's past the passport for building the future of the nation, and placed the work of archivists and historians at the center of this task. The need for a new historiography demanded full access to copious and reliable records. It was thus the job of the Canadian state to acquire, organize and offer access to interested researchers. Under Brymner's leadership the Archives had started to fulfil this need, and the students and faculty of the first courses in Canadian history offered by Canadian universities in the 1890s had already benefited from them. But Doughty considered the records in the Archives inadequate to the kind of historical research he had in mind, and started a crusade on collecting Canadian records both inside Canada and overseas (Wilson, 1993).

One of the first goals of his broad plan for the Archives included the creation of a research guide listing all the material available on Canadian history. This would involve copying records, asking for donations, and providing the transfer of records to the Archives' facilities. Doughty was also interested in developing an efficient system for disseminating the information contained in the records. His solution was to propose the writing of a new, collaborative national history to be developed in cooperation by the federal government and universities. "Though never officially part of the Archives' program, the twenty-three volume series, *Canada and its Provinces*, was an integral part of Doughty's overall design" (Wilson, 1993, p. 73), and were published in Toronto between the years 1913-1917. The active role taken by the Archives in disclosing its records, creating a Historical Manuscripts Commission, getting involved in the creation of a new Canadian historiography, and providing research scholarships and research assistance for Canadian historians is a signal of its great influence in the emergence of history as a profession.

The foundation of the Canadian Historical Association in 1922 is a reflex of the great moment for the profession at the time. Although the CHA is not the first Canadian historical association, it can be thought as the resulting evolution of the historical knowledge and the status of historical profession in Canada. Created through the efforts of W. D. Lighthall, the Historic Landmarks Association (HLA) was constituted in 1907 at the meeting of the Royal

Society of Canada (RSC). The organization was created with the simpleminded goal of identifying and preserving the historical landmarks of the nation; a straightforward purpose given as a response to the Dominion Government 'attack' at the nation's architectural heritage. But at the first quarter of the XX century was taking place the professionalization of history in Canada. The HLA, which was never intended as a professional association for historians, became redundant in 1919 with the creation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board. With the aim of making the HLA more effective and more like the American Historical Association (AHA), Lawrence Burpee, president of HLA at the time, proposed a new constitution to the association, changing it from Historic Landmarks Association into the Canadian Historical Association (D. Wright, 2003).

Like the contemporary economic programs known as National Policy, the cultural activities at the Archives had as their final goal the idea of making Canada a nation. In an appeal he made to the Prime Minister, Doughty justified the need of resources for acquiring new historical sources as a means "to consolidate Confederation and to bring our people long estranged from each other gradually to become a nation" (as cited in Smith, 1993, p. 138). As a result of his commitment to the job and his ability in publicizing the results of his work, he managed to double the Archives budget in 1907, and he kept it increasing until the depression of the 1930s. After this period there has been a great reduction in the amount of funding, followed by the closing of some regional offices. The national influence of the Archives had been diminished, and the failure of Doughty in integrating the functions of Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records became evident (Wilson, 1993). This is not to underestimate his contribution to the development of a national system of archives. The Public Archives "had become not only dominant in the field of historical research but also one of the premier federal cultural institutions" (Nesmith, 1982, p. 13), holding historical records from many different sources, "[…] and encouraging both academic and popular interest in the past" (Smith, 1982, p. 81). Doughty assembled a rich array of historical documents and records related to the founding of the nation, he had a fundamental role in the creation of a new historiographical tradition in Canada, and he was of paramount importance for the consolidation of the professions of archivist and historian.

Dr. James F. Kennedy followed him as the head of the Archives and Records Office, but his mandate was short. In the two years and a half he stayed in the position he has faced innumerable problems. The budgets were declining, and so was the number of staff members. There was little space for new acquisitions and processing new accessions was taking much more time than before. Dr. Gustav Lanctôt took the position from James

Kennedy, and did little more than keeping the direction dictated by his predecessors. The Archives remained an important national agency, contributing for the development of the nation by aiding the disseminating historical information. The situation would start to change when Lanctôt retired and was succeeded by the Dr. W. Kaye Lamb in 1948. Dr. Lamb was himself a recognized product of the institutional development of history and archives in Canada. He was both historian and librarian, and had previous experience as provincial archivist and librarian of the University of British Columbia. His past attributions must have helped him to cope with the dual nature of his mandate as Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records. Actually, he was the first to be able to break with the one-sided cultural tradition of the Archives, and finally integrate the cultural and administrative roles into a single organization. "This remained Dr. Lamb's greatest challenge and his success became his greatest contribution to archival practice" (Smith, 1982, p. 81).

The growth of federal bureaucracy and the World War II have exerted strong pressures on the structure of records management and prompted the realization of changes that would ease the integration between the two agencies into a truly public records office. The advent of the War effected a great increase in the volume of current records. The additional activities of the government and the creation of special departments, commissions, and committees dedicated to wartime tasks demanded extra-efforts from the Records Office. An interdepartmental Advisory Committee on Public Records studied the problem and recommended to the Treasury Board the creation of a permanent committee on public records. The recommendations made by the Advisory Committee were clearly influenced by the U.S. National Archives system. The two main principles they established in the creation of the permanent committee on public records were taken from that organization. The first was the idea that the archivist should be in charge of all the federal records, and not only the records produced by its departments. The second was the creation of rules of retention, disposal, and transference of the records to the Archives, and the designation of senior offices responsible for overseeing the process (Atherton, 1993).

An Order in Council emerged regulating this situation, and the principles it established were of great value to increase the ability of the Public Archives to serve as a public records office. Atherton (1993, p. 98) considers that "this Order in Council was the first evidence that the government of Canada was entering the modern era of records management". But again what has been created was not simply a copy of the American model implemented in Canada. The principles of records management were brought into the Canadian archival system as a way of dealing with the current government records,

but this introduction was biased by the archivists' traditional historical orientation. Records management concepts and techniques were not introduced as a set of practices and techniques intended exclusively for administrative purposes, but as a complement to a more fundamental activity of the Archives as keeper of historical records. The support of professional historians to the recommendations of the Committee endorsed the maintenance of a shared assumption on "[…] that *the first function of a national archives should be to preserve the nonactive records of government*" (Atherton, 1993, p. 99). These changes would enable the archivists to develop more complex schedules for the records appraisal and retention, generating more complete records on the administration and operations of the Federal Government (Corbett & Frost, 1983). But if one problem seemed to be solved, there was still another left.

With the growing volume of records, there was no more space in the Archives for storing the records. This situation would be used by Kaye Lamb to pressure for the creation of the Public Archives Records Centre. The Public Records Committee adopted the pragmatic and economically efficient model of USA archives together with the lifecycle concept[4] from the records management. He left current and semi-current records to the administration of records managers in government offices, promoting the construction of the Public Archives Record Centre in 1956. In a presidential address to the Canadian Historical Association in 1958, Dr. Lamb summarized his approach to changing the Archives into a fully functional Records Office. He started with the creation of the Public Archives Records Centre (PARC), and left to the departments the decision of using it or not. In the second stage a separate Disposal and Scheduling Section was created with the purpose of helping the departments define what should be discarded and what should be sent to the PARC for storage. This Section was also responsible for creating a General Records Disposal Schedule (GRDS). Both stages set the pace for the third phase, in which a full-fledged records management and archives program was implemented (Smith, 1993). The Public Records Committee would come to an end with the approval of the 'Public Records Order' in 1966. Its responsibilities were all transferred to the Dominion Archivist, which became the single authority for all federal records.

All these changes paved the way for Kaye Lamb work in blending the two different facets of his position at the Public Archives of Canada. In doing so he has also been

[4] The idea that documents can be seen as having a lifecycle comes from the Records Management literature and considers the period of existence of a records can be divided into a number of given phases that complete a cycle of the existence of the record. There are generally three main periods used to characterize different types of records: active (frequently used), intermediary (rarely used), and inactive (used only for research purposes). Other more detailed approaches can distinguish between eight or more stages of the lifecycle (Atherton, 1985).

helped by the recommendations of The Commission on National Development in the Arts, also known as the Massey Commission, in 1951. As other Commissions before it, the Massey Commission critically analyzed the archival practices developed in the U.S., adopting an anti-American position. The report of the Commission states that "[…] our use of American institutions, or our lazy, even abject, imitation of them has caused an uncritical acceptance of ideas and assumptions which are alien to our tradition" (Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, 1951, p. 15). This would generate a divergence between the views Lamb wanted to introduce into the Archives and the practices the Commission was recommending. The Commission wanted to leave the initiative for transferring the documents with the departments, while Lamb wanted this responsibility under the control of the archivists. The creation and application of retention schedules would help to overcome this divide. The Commission also endorsed other demands and projects Kaye Lamb was interested in developing, as the creation of a National Library, and the construction of a new building for the Archives. In 1962-1963 the Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission) made recommendations for the transfer of the records management program from the Public Records Committee to the Dominion Archivist, what has been done by the Public Records Order of 1966. From this moment on, archives and records management were under a single and sole authority.

Dr. Lamb's acceptance of the joint position of Dominion Archivist and Keeper of the Records had been predicated on the creation of a Canadian National Library. This structure would come to existence in 1953 through the passage of the National Library Act (Pickersgill, 1982). Lamb would still associate his name with other two great national projects. The first was the use of microfilm technology to preserve historical records, and also administrative documents with no intrinsic historic value. The second was the construction of a new building for both the National Archives and the National Library (Pickersgill, 1982). A skilled historian, librarian, archivist, and administrator, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb "has contributed more than any other individual to the development of archives and the archival profession in Canada" (Smith, 1982, p. 9). During his mandate, "the 60 employees and $206,000 budget of 1951 had become 107 and $542,870 by 1959, and 263 and $2,267,000 by the time of his departure as Dominion Archivist in 1968" (English, Copps, Beaumont, & Caya, 1999, p. 6). His endless energy and deep knowledge of all related subjects on archives, libraries, and history allowed him to successfully manage both institutions, as well as to preside and get involved in various national and international archival and historical associations until his retirement in 1968.

The environment he created was of much growth for archives and library organizations, as well as for archivists and historians. This was a foundational period in providing fertile ground for the conjugate development of both history and archives. There has been an incredible growth in the number of archives and libraries in Canada. New professional associations were created and old ones were changed. There has been the foundation of new professional journals and an increase in the number of scholarly communications. New conferences and events have been created. And a whole new literature on the area of history and archives began to be published and discussed in professional circles. "Archival and historical work pursued as civil service and academic professions […] enjoyed a position of cultural and intellectual leadership in Canada until well into the mid-twentieth century" (Nesmith, 1982, p. 21).

With the help of the federal, regional, and local governments, more archival organizations were being created and expanding their archival activities. They were getting the authority and resources "[…] to enable them to carry out a comprehensive or 'total archives' program in the tradition of Douglas Brymner's 'noble dream'" (Nesmith, 1993, p. 12). An example would be the growing number of Canadian provinces that decided to create archives after the War. They were interested in delivering cultural and records management programs. These programs were intended as a response to problems with central public records office, and also an answer to local demands for historical records and manuscripts. Not far from what happened in France, Canada could not hold much time with a single archive for the nation, and a great number of smaller and specialized archives started to develop. The difference could be that the development of the Provincial Archives was an unpremeditated or even undesirable result, but at the same time a direct product of actions and decisions taken at the Public Archives. This influence is clearly expressed in Eastwood's (1993, p. 128) reflection on the formation of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, when he says: "it was nation building on a provincial scale – nothing so grand as a cultural equivalent of a provincial policy, but a species of the same thing".

Another set of influences on the development of the archival profession came from the transformation of the Archives into a records office. The joint responsibility in taking care of both administrative and historical records brought archivists and records managers to share a common space, and made archivists more aware of records management principles and techniques. However, their proximity was not enough to overcome the divide between both groups of professionals. Archivists started to recognize the importance of records management and the way the archives could benefit from the work

of records managers, but their roles and set of attributions remained distinct and separated inside the organization. Archivists remained focused on ancient records and responsible for taking care of the cultural dimension of the archives, while records managers' jurisdiction was over current records and the main goal of their work was to promote administrative efficiency to the organization. An interesting process of adaptation and integration emerged from this relationship, and the comparison between their work was an inevitable aspect of the process. In the beginning archivists tried to distance themselves, and their argument usually relied on the social benefits of their activity in comparison to the exclusive administrative benefits generated by records management. On the other hand, records managers tried to elaborate their roles based on the legitimate work of archivists. Their attempts were usually focused in demonstrating that they too had cultural relevance and were connected to social needs (Duranti, 1993). A unifying proposal would emerge in the mid-1980s, arguing for a substitution of the life-cycle model for a continuum model (Atherton, 1985).

This broad wave of changes would alter the character and the scope of the work of the archivists, fostering the drawing of the boundaries of the profession, and creating a market for archivists and archival training. Whereas formerly their work resembled that of librarians, it now began to resemble that of registry officials. The introduction of the notion of provenance through the influence of the American archival tradition contributed to a progressive change in Canadian archival practices. Instead of arranging the records by subjects that would later be used to create finding aids for historians, their attempt was now to reconstruct as deliberately and carefully as possible the original arrangement of the files (Posner, 1940, p. 168). The growing importance of the *respect des fonds* concept did not reduce the interest in the historical value of archival documents. On the contrary, it fostered the development a theory of archives and reinforced the need of formal archival training. Although in both cases, history was still setting the ground rules. This influence would continue to be exercised until the mid-1970s.

The extract of a famous manual of archival practice from the mid-20th century brings a good example. The 'Modern archives: principles and techniques' states that the best training for an archivist starts with a strong study of history. "Since the formulation of the basic archival principle of provenance in the middle of the last century, archival institutions in all countries have stressed the importance of historical training for archivists" (Schellenberg, 1956, p. 131). Only later on this training in history should be supplemented by a specialized training in archives. The basis for this training would be found at the general principles established by the Dutch Manual. This was the body of technical

knowledge of the profession. This was one of the most important factors in changing the role of the archivist from an occupation into a profession. What defined an archivist was not anymore just the kind of work he used to do, but the specialized training he had to have in order to administer the records in the most efficient way. The recognition of the archival work as a distinctive service based on a particular set of principles and techniques prompted the creation of special schools and courses focused on developing the necessary preparatory abilities for the job. In this process, "[...] building up a special science of archival technique has been a supplementary task" (Posner, 1940, p. 170).

Up until the second half of the 20th century archivists used to learn the craft on the job, with the help of older archivists and based on some sparse literature. Formal training courses in archives started to be offered in Canada only in the 1959, when Public Archives personnel designed and taught a training course offered by Carleton University. The course "Archival Principles and Administration" was planned to be short and for a limited number of students, which most of the time had a degree in history or librarianship. The second edition took place in 1964. It was a four-week long course, attended by a few more than 10 candidates, and operated by the Carleton University in cooperation with the Archives Section of the Canadian Historical Association and the Public Archives Canada (Editor, 1963). The course would be offered with regular frequency and by repeated times for ten years more.

In the 1960s another training course for archivists started being offered at McGill University. The course was a partnership between the Public Archives and the McGill Library School, and was meant to serve the archivists from the Montreal-Ottawa area. Some other courses would still be created in the West part of Canada and the Maritimes, and would follow the guidelines established for the initial courses. The Public Archives Canada also promoted courses focused on records management training. For six years, from 1961 until 1967, the Records Centre cooperated with the Civil Service Commission to offer a full course in records management. The course continued to be offered by the Records Centre only, after their partnership ended. The Records Centre had soon to increase the number of editions per year, as a way to cope with the growing interest in the course (Ormsby, 1982). The importance of these courses exceeds the mere teaching of technical and conceptual aspects of archival work. They were the first attempt at writing a history about the development of archives in Canada and establishing "[…] a body of archival thought and practice which, although drawing on the experience of other countries, was to a large extent uniquely Canadian" (Swift, 1982, p. 55). In doing so, these

courses are among the primary mechanisms in promoting the integration of archivists in a separated professional body and generating a sense of collective professional work.

The most immediate influence of the training can be seen in the uprising of a new awareness about the profession, especially among the younger archivists, and the consequent result of the creation of a national network of professional associations. Until this moment, the archivists saw themselves as members of the historical community. They usually had a degree in history, they participated in conferences of historical issues, they published in historical journals, and they considered themselves to be part of a public service project whose aim was to bring historical awareness to the people in Canada. As a response to the great expansion of the archival profession and the growing numbers of professional archivists registered as members, the Canadian Historical Association created in 1963 a special thematic section on archives. The Archives Section of the Canadian Historical Association (CHA) was a very active group. They used to meet regularly, have their own newsletter and journal, and maintain a regular survey of archivists' positions in Canada. They also encouraged the development of training courses in archives, and the setting up of new archival organizations all over the nation.

The Archives Section soon became the place for debating professional issues and also an important mechanism for the archivists to take control of the future direction of their profession. At the annual meeting of CHA, in 1964, the idea of creating a separate association for archivists emerged. There were many different opinions on the subject, and the final decision considered "[…] that the time had not yet come for the formation of a professional association of archivists" (Swift, 1982, p. 55). However, the following years would show the professional development most archivists expected for their profession would not happen if they continue to be under the head of the CHA. In 1967, the Association des Archivistes du Québec (AAQ) was created, and the new journal *Archives* was born with it. They held a series of meetings, and created various working groups to deal with different aspects of the profession, e.g. records management and archival training. The success of the AAQ and the increasing activity of the Archival Section at CHA gave the necessary impetus for a new round of discussions on the creation of a specific archival association.

Founded in August 7, 1973, the Toronto Area Archivists' Group (TAAG) was the first Canadian professional association for archivists. The pioneer work developed by members of this group would further result in the creation of the Association of Canadian Archivists (ACA), in 1975. In the 1973 meeting of the Archives Section at the CHA the 'Committee of the Future' was created with Hugh Taylor as the head and other prominent archivists as

members. They had the task of studying the creation of this new association and presenting a report in the next meeting of the Section, scheduled to the next year in Toronto. As a result of the meeting, a constitutional commission elaborated a constitution for the ACA, which was accepted in 1975. Swift (1982, p. 56) reports that "[…] a professional association of archivists was formed with an immediate membership of approximately two hundred". They would be more than four hundred by the mid-1980s. They first attempt though was to create a national bilingual organization. In face of the refusal of the French-speakers, who considered that such an institution would never be representative of their interests, they decided to maintain two separated organizations. Instead of a national professional institution, they created the Bureau of Canadian Archivists. It represents the profession nationally and is composed of representatives from both French-Canadian and English-Canadian associations.

The creation of a new professional association has led to the founding of a new scholarly journal dedicated to Canadian archival issues. This was another very important and emblematic move in the professionalization of archives in Canada. 'The Canadian Archivist' has been the first and the only national publication on archival issues for 11 years, since 1963 until 1974. Originally created as a newsletter by members of the Archives Section of the CHA, it later turned into a scholarly journal for the development of archival methodology and techniques, the discussion of issues on the archival profession and archival training, as well as to report on conferences, training courses, and news related to archives and archivists. The journal stopped being published on the occasion of the founding of the Association of Canadian Archivists. As a new association representing the interests of the archivists, and of the archivists only, they felt they needed a journal of their own.

The Canadian Archivist was published under the auspices of the Canadian Historical Association. It would be discontinued in order to give place to a brand new journal lead by members of the ACA. The first edition of Archivaria was published in 1975, the same year the ACA has been founded. The journal is today the most important scholarly publication in archives in Canada, and one of the leading journals in the world. Its editorial declares its interest in the scholarly study of archives, with a special focus on the "[…] history, nature, and theory of archives and the use of archives" (ACA, 2013), both nationally and internationally. The creation of the journal had two main goals, and the two were sustained by the more pervasive and relevant goal of establishing a tradition of thought for the archival profession in Canada. Following Dodds (1975), the first aim for publishing Archivaria was to create a vehicle for advancing archival science through research and

theory development. The second intention was to make it an integral part of the archivists' toolbox for doing archival work. It should become a beacon for orienting actual archivists and attracting new people interested in archives.

Since 1968 the Public Archives were in the hands of Dr. Wilfred I. Smith. Probably his most important achievement was to elaborate on the concept of 'total archives' as the essential national approach for dealing with records. Wilfred Smith worked for many years with Dr. Lamb, and had an important role in the integration of archival and records management practices. Different from his predecessors, he was used to an administrative team approach based on delegation, empowerment, and team meetings. He promoted a discussion forum for archival issues and the integration of the various archival institutions in the country through the creation of the annual series of National, Provincial and Territorial Archivists Conferences. Overall, he has taken an important role both in developing the practical dimension of record-keeping activities of his position, the political dimension of consecrating the leadership role of the archives among other national cultural organizations, and the professional dimension through his support of professional journals and associations, as well as his direct contribution to the development of archival scholarship.

Especially relevant for supporting the work of the Archives was the publication of the report from The Commission on Canadian Studies in 1972. Also known as the Symons Commission, named after the chairman of the Commission, Mr. Thomas H. B. Symons, this report has already been considered as "[…] the watershed moment for ‘the coming of age’ of the Canadian archival community" (Taskforce, 2013). Similarly to the Massey Report, the Symons Report also adopted an anti-American approach. The main focus of the study was the role of the universities in Canada. They concluded the universities played a central role in promoting the general awareness of the historical value of the records held in private and public archives, but direct access to the records and the information they held had still to be improved. The two main contributions of the report were to provide a clear articulation of the notion of 'total archives', and to suggest the need for a truly integrated national network of archival institutions. The recommendations of the Commission had an enduring effect in the creation of a national community of archivists and paved the way for the creation of the Consultative Group on Canadian Archives and the production of the Wilson Report.

The work done by Brymner and Doughty in demonstrating "[…] the practical utility of archives for historical research into the public life of the nation eventually more than ensured the survival of the Public Archives and the new archival profession" (Nesmith,

1982, p. 13). Their most immediate influence was in creating a distinct but integrated role for historians and archivists, and the subsequent institutionalization of both professions. The archivist, who until the mid-19th century only knew about keeping administrative and governmental records, would become a professional and keeper of historical records. The historian, who became a professional through the writing of 'scientific history', would not anymore have to acquire and organize his own records from the past to be able to use them as evidence. An agreement on the complementary tasks of both professions was reached in the beginning of 20th century, an agreement that would endure for almost half a century more. The renewed and expanded mandate of the Public Archives under Lamb's administration would strengthen even more the profession of archivist and the leading role of the Archives as a cultural agency. But this situation soon would change. As a result of the changes in the historians' interests in the records kept in the national archives, there have been new and overwhelming demands on the work of archivists. This situation prompted an increasing awareness of the subordinate condition of archival profession in relation to the historical profession. The existing fractures on the work agreement between historians and archivists, the differences in the status of the two professions, and the uneven distribution of employment opportunities, all started to show up and became targets for the reflection and reformulation of the archival profession in Canada.

4.3 3RD PHASE – INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

The creation of the Association of Canadian Archivists in 1975 was chosen as the landmark of the **third phase** of institutional development of the archives and the archival profession in Canada. It would have made little difference if in its place were cited Dr. Lamb's retirement, the creation of TAAG, or the Symons Commission. ACA was chosen over the others as representative of the rising of a new professional consciousness, a factor of major importance for the following analysis on the evolution of the archival profession and its influence in the mnemonic organizational practices in the field of Canadian banking organizations. This phase represents the emergence of a series of great changes in the archival profession and archival institutions. Probably the most remarkable changes happened as a result of the changing relation between historians and archivists but, overall, the relationship among archivists, records managers, and librarians was also affected by and contributed to the changes to come true. The core of the debate centers on the emergence of an autonomous archival profession and the corresponding development of indigenous archival scholarship that both justifies its aims as a distinct

discipline and provides the necessary orientation for the praxis of archival work. Collective reflection has prompted a re-evaluation of the central notion of 'total archives', the merging of an administrative and historical sense of purpose, a closer relationship with librarians and library science, and the establishment of new foundations for archival science and archival practice. This process of institutional reformation suggests a progressive move from a public service professional model based on the state into an organizational professional model based on communities of interest.

An introductory and complementary analysis to the one presented here can be found in the work of Millar (1998). The author studied the evolution of the concept of 'total archives' in Canada since the first archival practices to be developed in the country, through the crafting of the concept, and until the actual period where she identifies a substitution of the notion of 'total archives' by a concept of 'archival system' as the foundation for Canadian archives. These labels signal a broad transition from a perspective that understand the archives as public service centralized in the state to another view of archives as tools for administrative efficiency and decentralized to the institutions that create the records. These perspectives are at the center of the controversy that begins to take shape in Canada in the 1970s, and that would lead to the proposal of a renewed synthesis on the archives and the archival profession that takes effective shape in the 1990s. The author argues that four main institutional factors would be responsible for putting the archives at crossroads: a) reduced funding, b) technological evolution, c) freedom of information, and d) national identity.

The first factor is the reduced amount of funding for archival institutions in Canada. The Canadian state has been the most important actor fostering the development of the country, but since the 1980s the number of funding opportunities and the total funding available for Canadian institutions have been decreasing over time. The recurrent national deficits since 1975 led to an increasing number of cuts in the expenses of the state and prompted corrective actions of restructuration, merging, decentralization, and elimination of governmental activities and departments. Also, in the field of cultural organizations, there has been a preference for financing the development on creative arts, what generated an unequal sharing of the available state budget. This situation affected the possibility of financing the work of archival organizations, and can bee shown by the reductions in the budget of the Canadian Council of Archives over the years: "its 1994–1995 budget of nearly $2.5 million was reduced by approximately $250,000 in 1995–1996 and was reduced again in 1996–1997 and 1997–1998" (Millar, 1998). A more recent action was the extinction of the National Archival Development Program by the Library and

Archives Canada in 2012. The NADP was the most important funding program for archival organizations, and was endowed with 1.7 million, administered by the Canadian Council of Archives (CCA) in support to the activities of local archives all over Canada.

The second factor present by Millar (1998) is the evolution of computer and information technology. She argues that the advent of the computer changed the management of records into management of information, altering the work of the archivist. The most important differences between them are that: 1) electronic information cannot be accessed without the proper technology; 2) electronic records are more easily manipulated that physical records; and 3) the technology are largely untested and cannot guarantee the preservation of the records over time. The generalized adoption of information technology would be demanding a change in the way archivists develop their work. Instead of waiting for the records to come to the archives at the very final end of the process, they are having to take the lead and get involved in the process since the beginning or there will be no records to be preserved at the end. This brings the knowledge on records management to the center of the process and changes it into an essential part of the archival work. In the words of Millar (1998, p. 129), "In order to ensure the preservation of valuable electronic records, archival institutions have had to focus on the way the record is created, used, and maintained".

The increasing demands on public accountability, freedom of information, and access and privacy laws might be considered as the third major factor affecting the work of archivists. These issues are pressuring the archival community with concerns on the effective administration of public records. The archivist is generally taken to develop more urgent activities of identifying the records and making them available to public scrutiny in order to comply with access legislation than working in other kinds of sources and for other purposes. Another influence is in the type of records that are being kept. In a resource limited setting the reasons for keeping some kinds of records are being re-evaluated, and there is a tendency for emphasizing the financial, legal, and administrative records instead of informational or historical records.

The last factor considers the changing identity of Canadian society from a single, unifying and centralized representation into a multiple, diverse and decentralized representation. A change marked by a "[…] growth of community feeling over national orientation" (Millar, 1998, p. 131). This is not only due to the fact that since the 1970s Canada is embracing a more multicultural identity, but is also a result of a national decentralization policy that transferred much of the national responsibilities for the provinces, and the provinces did the same for the regions, and the regions passed them

away to the communities. This movement has led to a "community heritage movement" (Millar, 1998, p. 132) characterized by the proliferation of local, private and community archival institutions, the rising of interests in local history, family history, and the history of particular groups and communities. The main concern in this case relates to the sources of funding or the overall sustainability of these localized archival enterprises, and bears some questions about the usefulness and quality of care applied to these records.

Millar's (1998) overall conclusion is that all these factors are forces that have been driving archivists away from the acquisition of private records and from their public responsibility and are substituting them by the practice of records management and a commitment with the efficient administration of the records to the needs of the institution that creates them. The general impression is that there is no conciliatory instance away from this dualism and to choose one approach necessarily excludes the other. But close to end of the article she recognizes that those factors are not producing the effect themselves, but "it is the archivist's reaction to these social pressures that has affected how archival materials are identified and preserved" (Millar, 1998, p. 136). So between the 'total archives' interest in serving the society and the 'archival system' focused in the particular interests of some sponsoring organizations, between a 'cultural' argument and an 'administrative' argument (which she calls 'institutional'), the state and the archivists seem to be choosing the second. She recognizes, however, that preserving records should not be an activity aimed at reconstructing the past or informing the present, but preserving part of the social memory for the future. This is a goal she expects could drift into a more unified profession and a more cohesive society.

The four broad factors presented by Millar (1998) are helpful to picture the institutional context affecting archival organizations, archival practices, and the archival profession. But while her analysis is very pervasive and informative, she do not appreciate how these changes got into effect, how they are affecting the archives and archivists, and how the archivists are responding, if not generating, these same changes through the development of their practices. Her recognition of the active role of the archivists responding to social pressures and affecting the state of the archives did not lead her to the necessary analysis of the changes in the archival profession and the work of archivists in influencing the changes. Instead, her approach turns from a structural evaluation of the factors influencing the development of the Canadian archival system (Millar, 1998) into a normative proposal of a forth era of the Canadian archival system, a system marked by a return to a focus on the cultural purpose of the archive and an expanded role for the archivist (Millar, 1999). In this regard, she only barely touches in what matters most from

the point of view of my research, i.e. the role of professional archivists in affecting organizational practices of remembering through the mediation and translation of societal and field institutional logics. The following analysis thus focuses on the transformation of the profession and related professional issues in the third phase of institutional development of the archives in Canada.

The National Archives, or Library and Archives Canada, continued to develop important actions for maintaining and developing the national organization of archives and its collections under the broad guidelines established by their predecessors. They faced the increasing challenges posed by the development of technology, the distanciation of archival theory and profession from history and the historians, and the nearing of archival science and archivists to the library studies and librarians. They were subjected to a new National Archives Act in in 1987, they coordinated the merging of the National Archives of Canada and the National Library of Canada in 2004, and since 2009 they have been trying to modernize the public service by bringing goal setting techniques and implementing business models in the work developed at the Library and Archives Canada. All these efforts suggest a straightforward tendency to the future of national archives in Canada. Keeping historical records will become more and more a responsibility for the producer of the records. The role of the state is changing from keeper to networker and information provider. Its mandate will increasingly be to champion the preservation of these kinds of records where they are produced, to assist setting up collective archival structures (e.g. corporate archives, community archives), to develop a national network of archival organizations, and to connect keepers and users by consolidating a public research structure with information about the location of records and possibilities of access.

The same year the ACA was founded, the Commission on Canadian Studies report has been published. Also known as the Symons Report, the commission was focused on analyzing the state of teaching and researching in Canada. The chapter dedicated to archives brings a series of recommendations that would guide the archival efforts in the years to come. The most important recommendations were: 1) unite and coordinate the archival efforts to better serve their users, 2) create a national network of archives with the participation of universities focused on better serve the Canadian public and academic community, 3) emphasize formal archival training requirement and develop graduate programmes offering archival training, and 4) stimulate the development of records management and archival programs by business corporations and organizations, possibly with the help of the Business Records Committee of the Public Archives of Canada. From

the recommendations made by the comission, the one regarding the development of corporate archives was probably the least successful.

The need for the development of a network of archival institutions continued to be called upon in both the Wilson Report from 1980 and the Applebaum-Hébert report from 1982. The Wilson Report has been mostly favourable to the archives and is considered as laying the groundwork for the construction of the Canadian modern system of archives. The Wilson report's 31 recommendations suggest an increasing role for universities both in preserving their own archives and the archives from the communities where they are located as well as providing the necessary orientation to the creation of new archival repositories. Additionally, the report reinforced the Symons recommendation for the development of records management and archives programs at organizations. Another recommendation appealed for the creation of a parliamentary committee on "[…] problems related to the disposition of the business records and papers of international corporations" (C. Archives, 1980, p. 64).

Notwithstanding the criticisms on the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (also known as Applebaum-Hébert Committee) biased view on Canadian cultural institutions and the ambiguity of its priorities (Archivists, 1983; MacDermaid et al., 1983), the report reinforced the need for a network of Canadian archives, but placed the responsibility on the active engagement of archivists. It also highlighted possible conflicts between a national acquisition program based on the notion of 'total archives' and the particular goals of provincial, regional, and local archives (Committee, 1982). Recognizing its active role as the agency responsible for preserving the Canadian archival heritage as well as manager of the records of the government and its agencies, in 1982 the Public Archives of Canada approved a new mandate attempting to integrate its two functions on a single mission. The approval of this new mission signaled a definitive attempt at embracing its dual role as a cultural organization bearing the public responsibility of preserving the Canadian collective memory as well as a state agency with the endowment of contributing to the efficiency of state agencies and departments. From now on the main purpose of the organization would be (General, 1983):

> the systematic preservation of government and private records of Canadian national significance in order to facilitate not only the effective and efficient operation of the Government of Canada and historical research in all aspects of the Canadian experience, but also the protection of rights and the enhancement of a sense of national identity based on archives as the collective memory of the nation.

This declaration prompted the Auditor General to demand from the Public Archives a definition of the meaning of "systematic preservation of government and private records of Canadian national significance". This request would mobilize great efforts from the Archives to define what was meant by 'national significance'. Momryk (2001) reviewed the overall process from the inside, arguing that a definition was needed for the Archives to justify its acquisitions in a collaborative network where other organizations could also acquire nationally significant materials. This definition would thus be paramount for bringing new materials to the Archives or leaving them at a provincial or local repository. After years deliberating the question, a 1985 internal task force concluded that no absolute, final answer was possible, and 'national significance' has been left it without a clear definition.

Jean-Pierre Wallot became Dominion archivist in 1985. The same year was created the Canadian Council of Archives, with the purpose of "preserve and provide access to Canadian documentary heritage by improving the administration, effectiveness and efficiency of the archival system" (Archives, 2013). This is the beginning of a network of archival organizations in Canada; the start of what Millar (1998) has considered a change from a 'total archives' model into an 'archival system' model. The development of a national network of archives reflected the growth of archival institutions and archival records, and their exponentially expansion in the last quarter of the 20th century. From 17 organizations in the 1900s the archival organizations in Canada turned into more than 800 in 2012. The first task of the CCA was to survey Canadian archival organizations' needs and demands, and develop a collective strategy for the acquisition of records. They published the survey results in 1988 and create an Acquisition Committee in 1989. In 1988 the CAA became responsible for administering federal programs funds to the organizations in the archival system.

The National Archives of Canada Act issued in 1987 renamed the Public Archives Canada as National Archives of Canada. The Act publicly recognized the leadership role of Canadian Archives in the archival profession, restated its responsibility in managing the records from Canadian government, and gave it a broader mandate for records acquisition. The Act introduced an innovation, defining the goal of the National Archives as *conserving* rather than *acquiring* private and public records. This opened the possibility of conserving the records by delegating the responsibility for their acquisition to other archival institutions in the country. The Archives could then work as a cooperative national system with decentralized retention and centralized information about the records. This change in

the archival policies together with federal pressures for rationalization of the acquisition practices generated an ample debate on the acquisition function of the National Archives.

In 1988 Jean-Pierre approved the first formal acquisition policy of the National Archives. The proposal was very inclusive and followed the general lines of the 'total archives' policy. A new report form the National Archives, published in December 1989, stated that the Archives' collection should reflect the diversity of Canadian life, including economic, social, and cultural aspects. As a response, the agency acquired records of "[…] representative Canadian businesses, of national labour organizations, of ethnocultural organizations and community leaders, of women's, children's, recreational, and social welfare organizations, and of inter-denominational religious groups" (Momryk, 2001, p. 161). Referencing the National Archives Act, the report also highlighted the shared 'custodial responsibility' between the archives and other archival organizations. Echoing Smith's (1993) network dimension of the concept of 'total archives', Momryk (2001, p. 161) suggests this shared responsibility could be "[…] interpreted that the concept of total archives was extended to include other archival repositories across Canada".

The National Archives would withdraw from acquiring provincial and local records, but it did not stop from acquiring private records. In 1991 the Private Sector Acquisition Strategy Working Group was constituted with the purpose of creating a strategy for the acquisition of private records. Once again, this task reinforced the need of clearly defining what the National Archives understood as national significant acquisitions and a new extensive round of debates have followed. The discussion got at stake in two situations: the first was the emerging consensus that any kind of definition on the notion of national relevance would be a partial answer and would contradict the very concept of 'total archives' that lied under the Canadian archival enterprise; the second difficulty was to provide a solution to the 'perennial problem' posed by the duality between the mandate of a cultural institution and its responsibility with the government administrative efficiency (Momryk, 2001).

A new call for the definition of national relevance as a direction for the National Archives acquisition policy would come from the "English Report" (English et al., 1999). The response came in 2000 with the publication of Private Sector Acquisition: Orientation 2000–2005. This report distinguished between relevance and geographical scope, maintaining that national acquisition should only happen when given its dual significance for the region and the nation, the national significance "[…] clearly outweigh their regional scope" (p. 2, cited in Momryk, 2001, p. 169). At the end, no final definition of national

relevance has ever been provided. Maybe in an attempt at a positive appreciation of this lack of criteria, Momryk (2001) held on to a liberal interpretation to argue that it is just because there is no clear-cut assumption regulating what national significance means, that choice, or the freedom of choosing and changing what should be chosen over time, "[…] is what assists to preserve the political freedoms of the public sphere and the social freedoms of the private sphere" (Momryk, 2001, p. 171). This idea of an auto-regulated criterion might be under assault by some of the most recent events. The enlargement of the Canadian archival network demanded a great increase in the federal funding and support to provincial, regional, and local archival networks. Nevertheless, as part of a modernization project that took place at the Library and Archives Canada in 2009, a whole series of budget cuts, cancellation of programs, and workforce reductions have been done. The cuts were so extreme that the national manifestations of archivists against the cuts portrayed them as challenging the very existence of the CCA and putting an end to the life of the 'total archives' principle.

The second major issue appreciated by the "English Report" has been the merging of the National Archives with the National Library. Although the Commission has been thought as a political means for justifying the creation of a single institution, it has listened to the communities of librarians and archivists and at the end manifested itself contrary to such a move by the government. The arguments for the merge relied on the possibility of gaining more public visibility as a single institution, or on the convergence between the work of library and archives caused by the use of information technologies. The two organizations were already sharing the same building and had long standing projects together, and their merging would surely bring benefits to the users. Even after the "English Report" refusal of the merging issue, rumours about it were still around and would effectively take place in 2004, when the Library and Archives of Canada Act (Bill C-8), combined the functions of library and archives creating a single institution, the Library and Archives Canada (LAC). In his review of the "English Report", Cook (2002) considered that if such a thing happens, what should not be forgot from the report was a lack of quality of reference services, the underutilized research skills of the personnel, and the need for close attention to the revolution of the electronic records.

There are two main elements from the previous discussion that must be analyzed in close detail. The first relates to the difficulty of the National Archives in defining a clear and straightforward criterion for appraising records of 'national relevance'. The second involves a better understanding of the work of libraries and archives in order to appreciate some of the conditions that ease their merging together. I believe the main sources behind the

emergence of these situations to be found at the profound changes in the archival thought, archival practices, and the archival profession in the last more than 30 years. At the heart of the matter lies the changing conceptualization of the relation between history and archives. Associated with it, the conversation between the archives and the renewed view on the administrative function of the records embodied by the records management, and the recognition of the social reality of the records and the useful toolkit of the library studies.

The analytical trigger in my analysis is the rising of the third school of Annales in the French historiography (P. Burke, 1990). Different from the two preceding schools of French historiography, the third school did not have a clear leader and a straightforward direction. On the contrary, it was characterized by fragmentation and multiple approaches that could be broadly thought as including a rediscovery and revised version of the *histoire des mentalities*, an initial attempt at quantification in cultural history, and a reaction based on a renewed interest in political history, the development of a historical anthropology, and the emergence of the narrative. Remarkable from this period is the upsurge of the 'new history' and the new cultural history, the influence of the writings of Michael Foucault, the literature on Cultural Anthropology, and the emergence of narrative and literary studies. The works of Le Roy Ladurie, Jacques Le Goff, Marc Ferro, and Roger Chartier are among the most known exemplars of this tradition, which is also related to the development of other approaches as the idea of a history 'from the bottom up' and the micro-history.

The changes in orientation in history studies generated a direct impact on the work of archives and archivists. Historians started to show less interest in the kind of archives preserved in national and regional archival collections. Instead, they were progressively looking for different types of records, different uses and ways of interpreting existing records, and demanding from the archives a richer and deeper picture of records from the past (P. Burke, 1990). Modern archival tradition emerged under the guide of the political history a la Ranke, with the purpose of providing evidence from the past to serve the writing of a national history focused on unifying the nation and developing a patriotic sense of citizenship. It was the time of history as a singular noun. History was a single truthful account of the past as it emerged from the critical reading of the sources. National significance was clearly defined, the notion of evidence was not problematic, the actors of history were known a priori, the types of records necessary to write this kind of history were standard, and the categories of users of the records and the knowledge they needed

to have to make use of them were well sedimented. The new twist in historical writing would shake all these certainties.

As early as 1977, Cook (1977) was calling attention to the growing impact of the new social history in the work of the archivists and their increasing rejection of the central role of history in defining their profession. Nesmith (1981) reviewed 'The Territory of the Historian' and 'Carnival in Romans' from Le Roy Ladurie in 1981. Before starting his analysis he brings a citation from Vital Chomel, the archivist that helped Ladurie developing the second book he reviews, who questioned "whether we now need 'une autre archivistique pour une nouvelle histoire'" (Nesmith, 1981, p. 127). He avoids making this discussion in the short review, but would soon dedicate himself to analyze the issue. He says the archival profession was aware of the challenges posed by the historiographical changes, but the archivists were still starting to adapt themselves to cope with them. A major issue he considers is the implicit view on the past embedded in the expression 'total archives', which implies the possibility of defining, retrieving, and preserving the past in its totality. In a brief space of time, the most acclaimed manual of archival theory (the Dutch Manual) had a big shortcoming: its definition of archives did not support private archives, family archives, or personal archives (Horsman et al., 2003), and neither did the existing national archives and archival organizations. The archives were not anymore able to provide the most valued types of records for history writing, and this demanded an overall rethinking of the profession and its practices.

An example of the impact generated by the sociohistorical writing of history is the creation of a National Ethnic Archives Programme by the Public Archives of Canada right in 1972. The critique of Neutel (1978) speaks both to the partial view of historical thought and to the national political interests that gave support to the writing of a specific version of national history. As the author argues, "until the 1970s, historians largely neglected the implications of the fact that Canada is a nation of immigrants. Our history books emphasize nation-building […]" (Neutel, 1978, p. 104). Up to this moment to talk about history in Canada was to talk about proudly and courageous men that dared to explore the geographical barriers of the land and be fortunate, was to talk about heroic politicians that were able to secure liberty for the people under the rule of England, and not mention much about all the other people that composed the major part of the Canadian society. Social history interests started to differ from "the traditional orientation of archival activity in Canada where strength has been concentrated at the national level, and until recently, acquisition efforts directed mainly toward the private papers of notable public officials" (Nesmith, 1982, p. 10). With the rising of the new social history and the great changes that

affected the historical profession, to remain attached to a 'scientific' version of political history would become an astounding limitation for the national archives, and for the archival practice in general.

The attention to new and largely unexplored kinds of records would be a major factor promoting the progressive detachment between archivists and historians. Since the historians could not find the kind of records they were looking for in existing archives and the existing knowledge about the records was not enough to satisfy their interests, the work of archivists was, at best, not helpful, and at worst, unnecessary. As a result, historians have even flirted with the possibility of creating their own archives to fulfil their needs (Nesmith, 1982). Until the appearance of the new sociohistorical research, the professions of historian and archivist have been sustained by a traditional alliance between both professional groups and the development of complementary tasks in the writing of national history. The cultural history changes the role of the archives from the one and only source for historiographical work into another possible place where historians could find records from the past. By the same token, the status of the archivists changed from the main experts in historical records in but one of various professionals that could help the historians in developing their craft.

An initial analysis of the increasing demands of sociohistorical research on the work of archivists definitely reached the archival journals in 1977, when Archivaria dedicated two issues to discuss the records from the working class, and the relationship between photographs and archives. In 1982, another issue of the same journal would focus more specifically on the implications of social history to archives. Archivists already realized they were facing a progressive disregard of their work. They have always been somewhat derided by historians. Terms as "handmaidens of historians" (Cook, 2009, p. 506), "hewer of wood and drawer of water", and even "vacuum cleaners" (Nesmith, 1982, p. 13) were used to characterize them and their work. But now they were facing a challenge in which their 'natural' allies were turning their backs on them. For social historians, the initial phases of data collection, reconstruction of the family of files, and development of statistical analysis were mere obstacles to the real work of historians: to apply thought in order to understand the meaning of all that data. In this world, a great desire was to transform the archivist into a technologist that with the help of information technology would be able to provide the historians with all the data they needed, and in the format they needed it to properly develop their research. Against this inimical view of archival work, Nesmith (1982, p. 11) and others colleagues cautioned their fellow colleagues that "[…] unless archivists want to be reduced to sitting at computer terminals releasing

electronic data they will take it upon themselves to understand the nature of the information they control".

Thus the fundamental connection between the collective process of rethinking archival profession and the changes in the nature of historical research are identified, or crafted by some archivists early in the 1970s but they became a public subject for scholarly debate and development in the beginning of the 1980s. Nesmith (1982, p. 7), again, synthesizes the matter, arguing that the works in social history were important because they "[…] enable[d] archivists to appreciate the research interests of an increasing proportion of users of archives, [but even more important is that they allowed] archivists to come to fuller understanding of their own development as a profession and point toward a larger role for scholarly archival work". From this moment on, the relation of the archives with the user is forever changed. Historians would no more dictate the professional practice of archivists; they would become one among other various users of the archive. The archivists would develop their own theory, their own rules and procedures, and their own practice of archives. They would introduce useful changes for them as well as for the multiple users of the archives. They would no more rely on historiographical needs to define how they should do their work. Instead, they would teach their users how to understand the importance of what they do and how to make use of the archive. As Ketelaar (1996, p. 37) suggests, the archivists should "[…] make our users – historians, other professionals, the public at large – understand that the unique character of archives is due to their provenance as transactional records created within a functional context".

For all matters, the reference made by Cook (1982) to the adage "what's past is prologue" is probably the best synthesis of the 1980s and 1990s effervescence in the development of archival thought in Canada. As the phase suggests, it is possible to identify a great number of efforts to both remember and historicize the development of the profession. Among various eulogies to the efforts made by predecessors, it was commonly found in the literature an approach of looking back in the past to self-reflect and re-evaluate the actual situation lived by the archivists, and then try to build on this common past to construct possible guidelines and directions to orient the future of archival profession and archival thought in Canada. The author would use the same phrase in an article from 1997, where he provides an impressive review of the literature in archives and uses it to establish the main lines for a paradigm shift in archival thought (Cook, 1997).

In this respect, it is possible to consider that archivists have been debating around two general positions that consider the relationship between history, records management,

and the archives. Each theoretical position comprehends also an understanding of the archival profession and the social role of the archivist, and is in itself a political and ideological position, recognized as such by their proponents (see specially Cook, 1994; Duranti, 1994; Eastwood, 1992a). The first perspective is not too much far from the very first understanding of the archives as administrative tools. It explicitly rejects any historical argument for preserving the records. They argue that the archivist is as a record-keeper, essential to organizational accountability (Millar, 1998). Archivists preserve records because they have evidential value, not because of their informational or cultural qualities (Eastwood, 1992b). The value of the records is thought to vary over time and in accord to its different users. This makes provenance of little help in the appraisal operation. The archivist should try to be comprehensive and appraise the records considering the largest number of possible future users (Eastwood, 1992a, 1992b).

The second approach is largely influenced by the work of Taylor (1984, 1987). Based on his ideas Cook (1992, 1994) and Nesmith (1992, 2004) developed two separated approaches to the problem of archives, and later joined efforts in creating a contextual approach to archival theory and archival practice. This approach argues that the distinction between information and records have been blurred with the rising of the new information technologies, and calls for a return to the notion of provenance and a decentralized focus on the record. It does not dismiss the association between history and archives, but consider that history itself (and cultural history in particular) can inform the development of archival work. Also known as the 'contextual approach', it argues that instead of focusing on the content of the records, archival appraisal should be based on the context of production of the record, on an analysis of the 'history of the record', or the societal shaping of the information hold in archives. History thus becomes an important tool for the work of the archivist. In this approach, the long-term value of the records is not defined by its use alone, but on "[…] knowing when and how they were used and the value the institution attached to them" (Nesmith, 1982, p. 25-26). This perspective attributes an active role to the archivist in co-creating the records. The archivist becomes an advocate and mediator (Millar, 1998), ready to defend and preserve the records for the benefit of the society. As Nesmith (1982) puts it, "the archivist needs to be a scholar who can administer an archival institution [i.e. organization] and recognize the administrative interest the sponsor of the archives has in the records it keeps".

After an initial period marked by criticisms and an excessive emphasis on the differences between both approaches, more recently they seem to be drifting together into a singular perspective (Cook, 1997; MacNeil, 1994) or an 'archival nexus' (Meehan, 2009).

If they are not turning into a new integrated approach they have at least been better able at recognizing some overlapping areas of agreement. Much of this agreement comes from the espousal of a post-custodian view on the archives based on a postmodern turn in archival theory (Cook, 2001; Nesmith, 2002). This postmodern turn recognizes the active role of the archivists in shaping collective memory. Archives are never neutral spaces for accessing the remainings of the past. On the contrary, they have an instrumental role in controlling the past. The archive performs an exercise of power and control over memory and identity. Archivists create structures defining what must be remembered and what can be forgotten in society. They attribute value to the records through processes of appraisal and selection, they arrange and describe records based on signifying structures, and they filter the information and control the access to the records based on different rules and criteria regulating the use of the archive. As J. M. Schwartz and Cook (2002, p. 1) argue, "archivists are an integral part of this [social] story-telling [and the archives] are not passive storehouses of old stuff, but active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed".

This attempt at uncovering the 'naturalized' power and influence of the archivist in the writings of history, and his even more powerful role in shaping the collective memory in all levels of society, is the most direct implication of the espousal of a postmodernist approach to understand the role of archives and archivists in contemporary society. But it also plays a second role that is not exhausted in its scholarly intention. As important as it can be to understand the mediating role archivists exert on the collective practices of remembering for a better understanding of the processes of construction of social reality, and the role of power, ideology, and narrative in shaping these process, the recognition of the 'denied' power of archives, records, and archivists has profound implications for archivists as a profession, and for the development of a professional project by archivists (J. M. Schwartz & Cook, 2002). If archives have been generally overlooked by their objective function as non-problematic evidence and archivists were generally depreciated by their mere mechanical activities (Cook, 1997), the attribution of an agentic dimension to archival work might redeem archives and archivists and bring them from the background to the forefront of decision making and policy development, legitimating a different image and an expanded jurisdiction for the profession, and increasing its social capital.

5 MEMORY WORK IN THE CANADIAN BANKING INDUSTRY

The previous narrative sets the scene for a closer look at the dynamics of business and corporate archives in Canada. More specifically, the connection between the broad institutional changes in the context of the archival profession at a national level and the dynamics of memory work in the Canadian banking sector. The analysis shows the role of professional archivists in mediating the impact of the changes on the five biggest Canadian banking organizations. I distinguished two broad periods and three different styles of memory work in the Canadian banking sector archives. These styles emerged over time with the development of archival profession and the interaction of the profession with Canadian banks. The analytical dividing line between the periods has been predicated on the Canadian Centennial – the anniversary of the Canadian Confederation in 1967[5] -, which contributed to generate historical awareness and patriotic sentiments all over the country. The ideal types of organizational practices of remembering were differentiated based on a series of factors as the guiding principles of the practices, the practical understanding of related concepts and categories, professional training and education, and the main beneficiaries of the work of corporate archives, as can be seen in Figure 2.

Memory Work	Memory-Keeping	Memory-Building	Memory-Managing
Rationale	Practical	Historical	Managerial
Purpose	Proof and Accountability	Evidence and Research	Information and Support
Focus	Storing, Discarding, and Retrieving	Acquiring, Cataloguing, and Researching	Managing, Supporting, and Consulting
Beneficiaries	Company	Society	Company/Society
Temporal Orientation	Present	Past	Future
Service Orientation	Accountant-Oriented	Researcher-Oriented	Client-Oriented
Routine	Static	Eventual Change	Dynamic
Records Meaning	Memos	Sources	Assets
Records Value	Transaction	Memory	Use
Archives Mandate	Recording Transactions	Preserving Memory	Generating Value
Professional Status	Non-Professionalized	Professionalized	Professionalized
Training	On-the-job	History	Archives
Employees	Clericals	Historians	Archivists
Education	Non-specific	History, Archival Science	Archival Science, Library and Information Science
Identity Title	Caretaker of Records	Keeper of the Memory	Information Professional
Canadian Banks	-	Bank2, Bank3, Bank5	Bank1, Bank4

Figure 2 Styles of corporate memory work

[5] The Canadian Confederation can be considered an equivalent to the Brazilian Independence Day.

The first period in the development of business and corporate archives in Canada is characterized by the omnipresence of the state in acquiring and preserving records from all aspects of Canadian life, including documents on Canadian business organizations. The best example is probably the attempts of various dominion archivists in acquiring the records of the Hudson's Bay Company (Simmons, 1996). Interest in their records have been first manifested in 1889, when the state was looking for records that could bring some light to Canadian history to incorporate into the Public Archives, but no agreement was reached between the company and the government. In 1920, Arthur Doughty was able to develop a programme aimed at copying some of the records, but it was only in the 1950s that Dr. Lamb would manage to reach an agreement for printing a positive of the company's records negatives (Ormsby, 1982, p. 39). Apart from some important corporations and other acquisitions, no systematic program was developed in partnership with Canadian businesses.

For corporations in the beginning of 1900s, preserving their records was not an option but a necessity. The retention of records served a clear purpose in the organization: to support to its day-to-day operations. This practical rationale oriented the type of records that should be preserved and how long they should be kept. This criterion encompassed both records needed for business accountability and control, as well as legal requirements of records retention. The existing archivists were usually career clerks that learned the craft on the job, and their focus was simply taking care of the records and making them available when needed. Their work usually consisted in receiving the records from all departments and selecting them for storing or discarding. The documents were discarded when they knew they would not be needed anymore, otherwise they would be stored following some classification system, allowing future retrieving of the records. When required by the client of a department, these records would be retrieved and used for some specific purpose, and then put back on their place in the archives. The content of the records the archives preserved was usually the transactions realized by the company, and some other documents demanded by law. In a few cases, some historical documents registering the foundation of the company were also preserved for emotional or symbolic value.

All the five largest Canadian banks already had some kind of archives or retention and disposal departments by the beginning of 1900s. They were not necessarily formalized as archives. The function was generally a responsibility of the corporate secretary or the corporate library, but the functions of storing, disposing, and retrieving records were already been developed. In Bank1 an acquisitions' programme was

developed as early as 1900 with the purpose of writing the first corporate history book. Despite the early start, by 1932 the records of the bank were scattered all over its branches, and a truly archival department would be constituted only in 1951. The oldest record of Bank2 archives department dates from a 1930 chart (Montreal, 1930); although they believe it might have been systematically developed since 1905. The department was called 'library and archives', which was a common label at the time, but in their case the archives was distinguished from another 'records management' department. A good way of picturing what would have been an archives at that time is to provide a narrative account on the archives from one of the banks.

The well-detailed account of the archives department in Bank5 from its creation in 1905 and its development until the 1950s provides a vivid picture of the archival reality in that period and illustrates various aspects of the work of memory-keeping. In the beginning of 1900s, the creation of the archives and the building of storehouses to keep the documents was influenced by the outgrowing number of records that were being produced as a result of the increasing number of banking transactions and the overall expansion of the Canadian banking system to the West. The archival function was usually developed as a secretariat function, or in conjunction with the corporate library office. The position of archivist was sometimes already in place, but it was generally taken by career clerical employees with no special training in archival matters. The acquisition and retention of records was done solely for administrative efficiency reasons. The two criteria taken into account for preserving the records were the attendance to legal requirements and their utility for practical matters. The work of the archives could be easily classified as a simple records management program. The intent was hardly systematically keeping the records for historical purposes, although some historical records were preserved for curiosity or for posterity purposes. They were much more interested in managing and organizing the increasing volume of records so they could find the files they needed when they needed them, and they could eliminate the files they did not need anymore, making space for new records to come.

The first mentions of the archives department from Bank5 can be found in an article published in the Staff Magazine in 1920 (Asman, 1920) and in a book on the history of the bank published in 1922 (Ross, 1922). These documents explain the foundations of the archives, the rationale behind its existence, and describe the infrastructure and the general operation of the archives. The 'humble beginnings' consider that until 1903 the documents were preserved in a vault in the general manager's office. Until then all the tasks related to the preservation of records were under the supervision of the library and records of the

head office, in the hands of secretary's staff. In 1905 they created a proper department of Library and Archives, and appointed Mr. Henry O. E. Asman, B.A., to the position. Because of the growth in the number of files, in two years the space in the office became fully utilized. Ross (1922, p. 500) remembers that, with the appointment of Mr. Asman, the recently created department inherited "the old records of the branches as well as of the head office", suggesting that the bank has usually adopted a decentralized policy to the preservation of the records, which became centralized on the new department due to the increasing volume of material and the need for careful destruction of confidential documents.

The need for preserving the records was dictated by the nature of the work in the banks, which consisted in producing records of daily transactions, and also by the Canadian legislation, which used to compel them to keep that kind of records forever. Records had to be kept because there was no legislation establishing a period for prescription. In addition, banks were not allowed to plead the statute of limitations. The lack of restrictions to the payment of dividends created an eternal source of liabilities to the banks, which decided to keep the records as a way of protecting their patrimony. There were three main classes of records preserved by the bank: a) accounts' balance, the bank had to bookkeep its transactions because there was no prescription to the payment of deposits or dividends; b) payments, the bank had to keep records of all payments of deposits or dividends as a way of fixing previous mistakes or counteracting dishonesty against the bank; and c) old transactions, these was the only class of documents preserved for the benefit of customers and community and their needs of knowing about past expenses, mortgage amounts, and the like (Ross, 1922). The arrangement of these records was made using a library classification system, applied undifferentiatedly to any type of records they were dealing with, e.g. client records, internal head office administration records. It was a static system, so "when once a satisfactory system of classification and record had been applied […] there was little to do but to await and care for the natural increase" (Ross, 1992, p. 500).

Because of the growth in the number of files and the lack of adequate space, a few years later the bank had built two buildings dedicated to the preservation of records. The growth from a single vault into two, and later three, record center buildings was predicated on the fast growth of the bank due to the opening to the West and the taking over of other competitor banks. They created the 'Book Vault', a large storehouse building in Toronto in 1912. In 1915 they had two storehouses: one in Toronto and the other in Vancouver, and were planning building a third storehouse in Winnipeg. Essential to the work of the

archives was the ability to fast reply internal and external enquiries about the bank and its transactions. Additionally, the large sums of expenses involved in the operation of the archive and the impossibility of finding sufficient space for all the records demanded "[…] a thoroughly systematic filling of old records" (Ross, 1922, p. 499). They adopted the classification system developed by the bank's chief legal advisor as a way to overcoming these challenges. The system allowed a careful classification of the records from a legal and practical point of view. Based on its directives, they implemented a disposition and retention schedule stipulating five classes of documents based on the time periods they should be preserved, ranging from a year to perpetuity.

The focus on legal and administrative aspects of the records and the purpose of efficiently managing the records for a cost-effective maintenance of the bank operation and the retrieving of valuable information suggest an adequate records management program was already in place. Asman reports in 1920 that they were managing the records produced by more than 4,000 employees in innumerable transactions that were reaching "a turnover of about thirty thousand million dollars a year" (Asman, 1920, p. 5). But they had already some historical records, or records classified for perpetual keeping. The archivist at the time refers to them as "the most interesting and valuable records" (Asman, 1920, p. 8), which include the first ledger of the bank dating from 1867 and a series of other documents related to the founding or initial operations of other acquired banks. Their historical symbolic value, though existent, was much more a signal of respect for the past, i.e. a relic from earlier times, than some artefact that could be used for some present purpose. Its utility would have been lost with the time, and it was preserved as a record of what once was rather than a form of accessing, or retrieving, the past as history.

In the 1950s the situation had changed in some respects, to the most part due to the changes in the institutional environment. The legislation has changed and from 1949 it was possible to destroy first-class archives after 20 years. The historical and archival professions were already consolidated in public service, and the value of the records for history writing had disseminated from public service into the corporations. The Current Account, the magazine of Bank5 personnel, brings in 1958 an article dedicated to 'Our big filling system'. This publication is representative of the period and brings illustrative information about the changes. Easily noticed is that archivists are now referred to as 'the faithful guardians' of the archives or 'guardians of the past'. There is also much more information about the records in themselves and their content than just the procedures and the relevance for organizational efficiency. Also remarkable is the reference to the "ancient material as a nucleus" of the archives ("Our Big Filling System," 1958, p. 5). But the topics

on efficiency and the expected contribution of the archives for the corporation were not removed from the text, but figured right beside the more historical information. Interestingly, the article states as the 'main purpose' of the archives "[…] to keep items readily available in case they should be needed", although it does not define who might need them and for what purposes. Up to this time it seems that corporate requests, client enquiries, and research interests were not so rigidly differentiated and a response should come from the same place, be it a request for proof of payment, the making up of a passbook, or the discovery of an 'ancient treasure' by an investigator. However, at the very end the administrative question remains: "How much of the material kept in the Archives is, in effect, useless? The figure of 250 searchers in a year, as against half a billion papers on file, gives some indication. If only it were possible to tell which of the 499,999,750 will not be required! But there is the catch – the job has got to be done" ("Our Big Filling System," 1958, p. 7).

The archivist of the bank says that in the following years a librarian might have taken control of the archives, but during the 1970s and the 1980s there was not really an archives in the organization. Historical questions were managed by the public relations department or by the library staff, but it was more like a search and retrieve operation than a proper management of the records in the archive. The recreation of the archives in a more modern, historically oriented fashion would happen only in 1989. As in many other cases, in the mid-1980s the chief executive of the bank was interested in publishing the fourth volume of the history of the bank, and this would be the major impetus for the creation of a formal corporate archives. They hired by contract a professional archivist and records manager to review what they already had and to plan the creation of the department. She developed record retention policies, archival guidelines and processes, and put it all to work in the organization. After she finished her consulting job, she was invited to stay as manager of the archives. She stayed, but not for very long. In 1999, the bank decided to separate the records management program from the archives, and she decided to leave the organization. With the division, the archives were isolated from the day-to-day work of the organization and witnessed a great depletion in its resources. They lost their internal policy, their authority, and their mandate. They lost a lot of personnel, the awareness and interest from the executive body, their position in the report line, and a clear role for the archives in the organization.

This case illustrates the fact that the legal and administrative relevance of the management of records in the organizational have never been completely ruled out or substituted by the historical mandate of the archives. What happened was that in the

1960s and 1970s the corporations have been influenced by the first wave of trained professional archivists. The archivists applied the knowledge they got from the archival school, attempting to separate the archives and the records management functions in the internal structure of the bank. They were mimicking the Canadian public archives approach and differentiating the historical and public service responsibility of the archives from the records management function and its commitment to corporate efficiency and results. Apparently, this separation was never a good solution. Archivists continued to be identified with the work of records management, and the archives continued to be associated with storehouses of old stuff with questionable value for the corporation. On the other hand, the changes weakened both groups inside the organization by dividing their labour, responsibilities, authority, and resources. Both groups lost control of the process from the beginning to the end. Records managers would lose the connection with the final purpose of their work, while the archivists would lose hold of steps that supported their operation. They were not able to establish a separated identity and a successful unique role for them inside the banks. As some other cases have shown, the combination of their forces seems to be a better option for the achievement of their corporate and professional goals.

A great fuss took place in Canada 1967 due to the centenary of Canadian Confederation. There have been innumerable historical exhibitions and celebrations all over the country. Nationalism was reinvigorated and all provinces, communities, and organizations were invited to take part in the national celebration. The historical situation seems to have produced a great increase in the historical awareness throughout the country. Together with the emergence of this historical feeling throughout the nation, there was an active engagement of archivists and archival organizations in developing the profession, generating awareness of the importance and benefits of archival practices and programs, and persuading a diverse number of organizations at creating archival departments. The third most important factor was an upcoming wave of corporate anniversaries that would take place in the 1970s and 1980s, and the shared interest of Canadian banks in publishing corporate history books to celebrate it. These three factors represent a temporal combination of the interests and efforts from the state, corporations, and archivists, and would generate the momentum for the spread of the corporate archives form into the five biggest Canadian banks. As can be seen in the Appendix III, with the exception of Bank1, which was the first modern corporate archives, and Bank5, which was

the very last one, all three other banks – including the Bank of Canada[6] – have created their archives in the 1970s. This is the period when the two other styles of memory work started to take shape into the Canadian banking sectors.

Although in the federal archives the memory-building archival style was already taking place since 1920s, and this would also influence the management of corporate archives, it was not until the late 1960s that a dualist view on the role of archives and records management would really emerge inside the Canadian corporations. The major force behind this change is attributed to the work of professional archivists and their segregative view on their role inside the organizations. The promotion of the division between the high-archival work of record keeping for the benefit of society and low-archival work for organizational economic purposes has been a result of the identity assumed by the archival profession based on their relationship with historians in the development of national memory projects of the Canadian state. When they made their way into business organizations, they took with them their professional ideology and technical tools, actively orienting or supporting the creation of archival departments with a mandate separated from the records management function. They would reproduce in another 'institution'[7], the same structure they knew and the activities they learned to do from the guiding 'institution' in the country: the Public Archives.

The emergence of new demands of records for historical research pressured for a re-evaluation of the records preserved by the state in the Public Archives and the development of affirmative actions aimed at making this kind of records available. The traditional way of the Public Archives dealt with records was acquiring and preserving them, and in a first instance this is what it tried to do with corporate records. But they soon realized that many corporations were not willing to give away their records, because they were private and confidential, and they generally believed they should keep them. On the other hand, they faced the fact that they did not have enough resources to keep this kind of record (Mitchell, 1989). The following quote was taken from one of the interviews and provides a very good illustration of this situation (Bank4, Interviewee1):

> the National Archives in Ottawa was trying to set up a business archives and they were aggressively coming to all the banks at one time saying give us stuff, give us stuff […] As a matter of fact, we at one time, way part, I guess it was in the 60s, we gave them microfilm of all our old minutes. And at some point in time they pushed it back to us. They said we can't, because what we were doing was we gave it to them

[6] The Bank of Canada is equivalent to the Brazilian Central Bank.
[7] Archival literature generally uses the term 'institution' instead of 'organization' to identify the social structure that produces the archives.

> but we said, restricted access. No public [access]. Well if you can't, we can't let people look at them, why do we have them? Rightfully so. So we took them back […] But when it came to, at one time because they wanted to be bigger than just government, they were trying to solicit business stuff because that also spoke to the development of the Canadian nation. What role did the [Bank4] play, which used to be you know Canada's banker. The government's banker. What role did that play? I mean you know, these histories are equally as important. But they no longer solicit that stuff […] But they no longer solicit that because it's not, they just can't handle it.

As the quote suggests, the state soon realized that the volume of the records was too big and that it was too expensive to keep them all in the custody of the state, and so they tried another approach. Instead of embracing the traditional 'total archives' approach to national records keeping, they progressively renegotiated the status of 'national relevance' and soon – it was mid-1980s – accepted that the state did not need to acquire the records. Instead, the state could focus on fostering the development of a network of archives. It could share the responsibility for the national heritage and the archives would be retained at the places where they were originally produced. In this regard, the Symons report urged the state and the profession to take actions for spurring the creation of corporate archives and the retention of records by their own corporate producers. It is interesting to call attention to the fact that the text explicitly distinguishes between the implementation of both archival programs and records management programs in business organizations. These views would be reinforced in the Wilson Report and the Applebaum-Hébert in the 1980s, which also commented on the corporate responsibility in preserving their own records for society's sake.

Another situation that helps to understand the general view on the subject at the time took place at a conference from the International Council of Archives held in London in 1974. The participants at the conference were amazed by the role of the Canadian national archives in preserving both public and private records. They considered that since the Canadian government had such an active role in preserving business records, Canada should be very well served by rich founds of Canadian organizations. Peter E. Rider, coordinator of the business programme at the Public Archives of Canada at the time, made an explicit statement rebutting this equivocal impression. Writing in the first issue of Archivaria, he was explicit in saying that "Canadians are in danger of losing large portions of their historical heritage through the indifference and omissions of their business leaders" (Rider, 1975, p. 93).

He argued that the efforts of the state are never enough to compensate for the negligence of businessmen with the records of their companies and of their own. Echoing the Symons Commission, he said that the responsibility for preserving the archives of

private companies should remain with the companies themselves, and suggested the institutions of the state should "[…] direct their efforts and limited resources toward the provision of advice and practical assistance to firms considering the establishment of an archives" (Rider, 1975, p. 94). He however remembered some failed past attempts at joining the efforts of archivists and businessmen. The Business Archives Council created in 1968 in Montreal had problems to increase the number of interested members and corporate sponsors and lived only until 1973. He also remarked the faith of another similar enterprise between historians and business executives, which would have "[…] failed because of apathy on all sides" (Rider, 1975, p. 94).

Up to this time, some of the largest private Canadian already had corporate archives or were starting an archives program. Companies like Alcan, Bank of Montreal, Bank of Nova Scotia, Bell Canada, and Seagram Company Ltd., were all dealing with the acquisition and organization of their past records, not without some failures and deceptions. Rider points out that if the government could understand the preservation of business records as beneficial to Canadian society, it might be willing to offer tax concessions as incentives for private companies to set up their corporate archives. Rider's (1975) final recommendations to the development of corporate archives were addressed at the corporate archivists. He urged them to "[…] abandon their low profiles, emerge from their regional enclaves of fellow tradesmen and make themselves known one to another" (Rider, 1975, p. 94). The emergence of this movement was already at work.

The Canadian Centennial had a very strong impact in the people all over Canada, and people was very sympathetic to the idea of creating collections of historical records and writing the history of the nation. This great focus on national history would have a great impact on the creation of various archives and libraries in the country, and would also generate momentum for a major sequence of changes in the archival profession. In August 1973, a formal invitation by Mr. R. Scott James, the City of Toronto Archivist, brought together 25 people into a meeting to discuss the collection of records of national significance. There were present representatives from both library and archives, including archivists from the state, and also community, religious, and corporate archivists. This was the first meeting of what would become the Toronto Area Archivists Group (TAAG); the first professional archival association in Canada.

The creation of TAAG in many ways offered an alternative to what once existed only centralized at the Public Archives Canada. The mandate of the Public Archives at the time was still to collect and preserve, but only archives of national significance. In the perception of the members of the TAAG, this was generating the disposal of a series of

other important records because nobody had the responsibility for taking care of them. As a response to what they perceived as a problem of the existing archival system, they called to themselves the job of promoting the creation of archives and democratizing the access to the records. They understood the archives as a responsibility of the organization producing the records, and a right of every people to access them. As Scott James himself comments on it:

> Our position at the Toronto Area Archivists Group that it was the job, we were trying to persuade every institution that created records, so far as possible to become responsible for its own records. So every municipality should have an archivist to look after, every business that was big enough should have an archivist. Every non government agency, every church, every university or educational institution, should maintain its own archives at its own expense, so that it could be accessible to the local community. Not just to professional scholars and historians. So that was the principle on which we started to operate and to educate people (Interviewed on Jun. 12, 2013).

Additionally to their acquired mandate of helping to spur the creation of archives all over Canada, they also started offering training courses in archives. The only program at the time was offered by the National Archives, and was usually taught for their own staff. Sometimes it was possible for an external archivist to participate in the program, but there were not many spots available. They started up training programs with the purpose of providing basic archival education for people that were already acting as archivists or were interested in joining the profession. The curriculum was focused on developing basic skills and abilities in archives and records management, paper conservation, and the overall archival process and basic archival tools. As part of the training process, they also developed a close connection between the American debates on archives. Before 1980s there was no graduate programs in Canada and the best way to get deeper knowledge on archives was to participate of the Society of American Archivists conference and to get access to their manuals and the publications of the Society.

Another effort was focused on clarifying what the profession was about and 'spreading the word' about the role and the benefits of the archives for different 'institutions'. And they did it through people's personal networks. As Scott James mentioned: "we spread the word. It was word of mouth largely. We didn't, nobody knew what an archivist was in those days […] And if we had somebody in a church, we had, they had a network. So we used people's networks". They actively connected with other people and other 'institutions' by means of the existing personal ties, and started setting up meetings explaining who they were, what they were doing, and why what they were doing

was important. Their actions were so effectively than in less than two years they had at least 200 members with TAAG. So "[…] TAAG was kind of in the vanguard of expanding the discussion about how important it was to not just have a national archives and three or four big provincial archives, but to actually include the new professionals who were coming in, in all these different little institutions across the country. So it expanded the conversation. Hugely" (interview with Scott James, 12 jun. 2013).

For the first two years the members of TAAG were still participating of the archives section of the Canadian Historical Association, but their move helped to promote a reflection on the profession and a view on the archivists as autonomous professionals. Their actions fostered the development of the Association of Canadian Archivists, whose first composition would have members of the TAAG as heads of the association. The creation of the association was pictured as 'a lot of fighting' (Interview with Scott James, 12 jun. 2013) and the major issue at stake was due to a different understanding from the archivists from the National Archives over the creation of local archives. They understood the proliferation of small archives as detrimental to the development of the national efforts of keeping the national memory, whereas other archivists close to the TAAG used to argue that this was the most sensible approach to the intention of preserving the diversity of Canadian life. The force of the national institution and the outnumbering of archivists could have been a problem, but in the end they were able to reach an agreement and an understanding of the complementary nature of regional and community archives to the work developed by the National Archives – a view that would be formalized in the Simmons report in 1975.

The reflexive awareness of the professional status and the development of a professional conscience in the group of Canadian archivists would give rise to a conscious intention of shaping the profession and define its role for the future. They would no more be subjected to the historical profession. They were going to take control of their professional status, have they own scholarly debates, their own community, and provide their own specialized training and certification. The actions developed by TAAG and later on by the ACA had a major impact on the development of business archives in Canada. Right beside the efforts developed by the government were the archivists and their recently created professional associations. They developed their training programs, regional and the national association, a scholarly journal and professional conferences, and now they needed to create more demand for professional archivists. Various individuals and representatives of the professional associations were developing efforts to explain the benefits of corporate archives and engaging in communities and organizations

to help the creation of archival programs. As one of the founding members of TAAG, the Interviewee1 from Bank1, informed (interviewed on Feb. 26, 2013):

> but it wasn't all accidental. I mean it was […] I can see us going […] into all of these organizations and you know, preaching to them. On the value of an archives. And it wasn't done on an esoteric, you know, CSR approach. Nice to have, nice to build your brand. It was all about what can it do for you. And it can really help you. It can help you focus when you've got an anniversary. It can help you deal with that mass of material that, everything from museums […] and there was a burgeoning of, you know, paper mass that you had to deal with.

This quote reinforces the research done by Mitchell (1987, p. 14), who mentioned that the arguments emphasized by the archivist in their attempts at converting the organizations to the creation of corporate archives usually considered "[…] the economic benefits of corporate archives, which provide companies with research material to help solve current problems, documents that can be used as legal evidence, and material which can be used in public relations and advertising". But even though the arguments were directed at the economic side of the business, the historical consciousness approach seems to have prevailed in some cases. Maybe two related elements can be indicated in the guise of explanation. The first regards the general occupation of archival roles by historians. As Scott James testified, in the late 1960s "[…] most archivists were, didn't choose the profession because they wanted to be archivists. They choose the profession because they failed to get positions teaching history at a university. So you know a lot of the archivists I knew in the 1970s were essentially failed historians. And they came to the business, came to archives with that perspective".

The second factor might well have been the maintenance of the traditional corporate view on the intrinsic connection between history and archives. Corporations had already used the service of historians and archivists in the past, and there was an understanding of their work together in the development of corporate history issues. This perception might have intensified by the rising of a national historical awareness in the 1960s and also due to the interest in commemorating corporate anniversaries. The cases studied in the bank sector show that the creation of all the archives had some kind of connection with the commemoration of the organization anniversary. Probably the most significant exemplar is Bank5, who would create an archives 22 years after the first Canadian bank, in 1989. Its rationale was the need to provide documental evidence to the writing of Bank5's corporate history. This situation seems to be the perception of Rabchuk (1997, p. 35), who considers that "Canada's first generation of professional archivists was a natural addition to the strategically planned organizations of the 1970s […] The impetus behind

the development of corporate archives programmes was the promise of untapped research potential, and newly ordained corporate archivists were called upon to meld company archives with mainstream corporate activities".

An overall view of a style of memory work based only in the historical approach can be found in the Figure 2 at page 90. Under a historical rationale the purpose of the archives inside the organization gets separated from the daily practical needs and devoted to the acquisition and cataloguing of departmental records in order to create evidence from the past. This would be the first part of the archives mandate. The second part would consist in researching the sources and making available their information to the various areas of the organization. The demand for information comes from various departments, and might as well involve some kind of special projects associated with the archives. The archivists are professionally trained. They are usually historians, but in some specific cases might also include some people trained in archives. In any case, their overall goal is to preserve the corporate memory for its importance as a record of the past that might be available for future historical research. But once these archivists got inside the corporation, they usually found many factors that made it difficult for the historically oriented archives to fulfill their role in contributing to the corporate business. In any case, the result of a one-sided view focused on the historical dimension of the archives and the role of the corporation in preserving the collective memory of the society has shown to be a poor approach in the development of archival practices in organizations, and it is possible to identify a strong tendency of migrating from a memory-building style to a memory-managing approach.

The temporal gap between the national development of the archival profession and the incorporation of archival standards in the organizations studied points to an interesting phenomenon that would require a particular investigation to disentangle its development. For now, it is possible to conjecture that both internal and external factors were associated with the insulation of Canadian organizations from the influence of the archival profession until almost the last quarter of the 20th century. The assumed incompatibility between archivists' historical orientation and the economic efficiency focus of business organizations, and the growing influence and availability of resources from the Canadian government appear to be the most relevant forces preventing the beginning of a relationship between historian-archivists and the corporations. Archivists were focused on generating evidence for historical research, and although a few historians recognized the importance of business and corporate archives for historical research, this was still

considered a minor aspect of historical research[8]. It would be only in the 1960s that an increasing interest from researchers on business history issues would motivate the methodical acquisition of business records in Canada (Mitchell, 1987, p. 4).

On the corporate side, existing services provided by the archives were sufficient for their day-to-day business and usually efficient enough for supporting the daily operation of the bank. The interest in managing history usually arises when an important celebration approaches, and in these cases they could always hire an ad-hoc historian to write the corporate history. On its turn, the Canadian government has always exerted great influence over both groups. The 'total archives' approach regarded to the state the responsibility for preserving private records of national relevance, and various attempts at acquiring records form extinct and still alive Canadian corporation were made. On the other hand, the Canadian government has always been the largest employer of archivists and the great number of historical projects and available budgets during this period contributed to keep historically trained archivists as public employees. So although some historical awareness and an interest for historical issues did develop inside the banks, it was never strong enough to rule out from the archives the mandate for contributing to the organizational efficiency. An exclusive historical mandate for corporate archives would only become possible with the entrance of professional archivists in the late 1960s and 1970s, which in some cases forced the divide between archives and records management into two separated corporate units.

The work developed by archivists in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in internal contradiction within organizations. They worked so hard to delimit their boundaries and their expertise in safeguarding the memory of the organization, that in the 1990s they faced a situation where they were considered to be the single unit responsible for keeping the organizational memory. This problem was worsened by the changes in information technology and the introduction of electronic documents. Other departments did not consider they had a responsibility in keeping their records more than what was required by law, usually a five-year period. In a paperwork reality it is usually still possible to overcome some of these issues because the files actually exist in a material format, but it is much more difficult in a digital environment. The introduction of computers and information technology brought a new reality of electronic documents. The creator of the records assumed an even more powerful role in keeping or discarding the records before they can be even known to the archives and to some other people. Digital archives changed into

[8] It is worth remembering that Chandler's groundbreaking classic on "Strategy and Structure" was published for the first time in 1962.

fiction the passionate stories of archivists that discovered a 'golden mine' forgot in an attic or dumped in a basement. Thus the lack of support from other areas of the organization associated with an increasing dependence of these areas in sending their records to the archives brought additional challenges for managing the archives.

Different from governmental agencies, in business organizations the administrative and functional principles tend to be more emphasized. This characteristic might have retarded the development of corporate archives in organizations. Another reason must be found in the arguments used for motivating the development of corporate archives, which were still attached to a historical-public service model. With the transition of archival science from a subordinated profession into an autonomous profession in the last 30 years, the organizational demands from the archives became much more suitable and adjusted with archival thought. On the other hand, with the rising of the movement of social responsibility, and more recently, of historical responsibility, the view and the role of corporations in society has changed from business units directed by an absolute managerial logic to social actors with multiple responsibilities. New organizations have been created based on new organizational forms and different management principles. They became more open for the influence of other ways of developing the business, and if they did not transform their own management models completely, they have generally adopted and adapted some new principles and approaches, what would also support the future development of corporate archives.

Notwithstanding the possible contributions of the corporate opening for social issues as a possible avenue for the growth of corporate archives in organizations, it is still a single tie attaching the archives to the organization. If the history of the development of the corporate archives in the Canadian banking sector can provide some guidance for the future, the archives would have first to find a way to connect with the essential part of the business and then look for other ways of tying itself to the organization. Some of the bank archivists soon realized their departments would not stand very long if they continue highlighting only the historical value of the archives and began to develop a different approach to the management of corporate records. Some of them have been very successful in connecting the archives to the business side of the organization (e.g. B1, B4). Some others are still trying to do it and might have a chance by taking advantage of a renewed interest in the history of the bank generated by a close anniversary (e.g. B2). There are still others that seem to continue holding on almost exclusively to a historical argument. They are still alive, but if not because of some special historical projects (e.g.

B3) they have faced heavy drawbacks including diminishing resources, reducing staff, and lacking of authority and relevance inside the organization (e.g. B5).

The origins of the memory-managing approach to deal with corporate archives can be found in the later development of archival profession, probably dating from mid-1980s. Before this date, they were still confortable with their positions and their historical mandate. The conversation on the importance of business archives and the debate on the responsibility of the state and the corporations in preserving corporate records heated up a little bit in the 1980s and 1990s, but still with little repercussion both in academia and in the corporate world. A contribution to the discussion in Canada was the great development of corporate archives in the United States during the 1970s. Besides the growth in number of organizations with corporate archives, the Society of American Archivists (SAA) published a 'Directory of Business Archives' in 1969, the SAA Business Archives Committee was reinstated in the mid-1970s, and various articles and special issues were published, mostly during the 1980s and 1990s, in the journal The American Archivist (Archivist, 1982; Forgerty, 1997). Interesting articles were published describing the history of business and corporate archives in North America (Adkins, 1997; C. Hives, 1985; C. L. Hives, 1986; D. R. Smith, 1982), analyzing the 'dual' role of corporate archives and the need to integrate both mandates (Eulenberg, 1984), looking at corporate records as strategic assets (Anderson, 1982), and discussing the role of organizations and the state in preserving the social memory comprised by business records (Mitchell, 1989; S. L. Wright, 1996).

The overall conclusion of these analyses was that history was not enough for corporate archives to justify their existence, and they needed to provide other kinds of contribution to the organization if they wanted to stay around. In the words of Rabchuk (1997, p. 39): "our preoccupation with the past cannot be our sole raison d'être". The history of business archives is usually described as ranging from the role of the state in Canada and the participation of American libraries and universities in the acquisition and retention of business records for historical purposes, through the emergence of the first corporate archives created in the U.S. with the purpose of being a source of information and knowledge for organizational decision-making or more focused on the historical aspects of the corporation and its social mandate as in the Canada case, until a third period of corporate disillusion with the ability of the past in informing actual decisions and the derision of archival work exclusively for history-writing purposes. Based on the unfavorable situation lived by most corporate archives, and the recognized inability of other organizations (e.g. the national archives, university libraries) in preserving corporate records, an emerging tendency has been to suggest the integration of both administrative

and historical responsibility in the archival work. Corporate archivists should be able to serve both the functional demands of the organization that maintain the archives and the social and research evidence needs from historians and the society at large.

This understanding has been at the forefront of the development of archival theory in Canada (Cook, 1984, 1997; C. Hives, 1985), and was suggested to be already at use by the professional archival associations in Canada right after their constitution as a way of getting the most diverse institutions interested in developing corporate archives and also getting archivists focused on the most important corporate issues. The training in archives the TAAG started to offer as well as the intensive work the members developed during the first years of the association already had this twist. And this represents the first steps for a move from the traditional historian's school focus on the subservient and technical role of the archivist to a distinct approach emphasizing the managerial contribution of the archives and the active role of archivists in taking decisions, engaging with people, and defining the role of archives in organizations. As Scott James (interviewed on Jun. 12, 2013) explains:

> the critical part of our education was to point out that archives are essential administrative tools of an institution. And not just historical resources […] it wasn't just because of history that records should be saved and archivists trained to look after them. But because it was in the best interests of the institution itself to have the records of its, of its existence readily available for administrative purposes […] And I always argued that the historical value of records is secondary to the administrative value to the institution. And that's what keeps archivists employed in my view […] So the first thing is to establish that it has an administrative value, and then secondarily, then we can say okay but it also has a value to historical researchers and scholars and the community generally […] first off you have to have the solid support of your institution, people who don't care about history. They only care about looking after their own stuff. And then you have to go out to the community. So it's of equal value. But what, you can't have the historical without establishing the administrative value […] You have to be useful. You have to be useful.

The TAAG would be a fundamental influence in the development of the corporate archives in the Canadian banking sector, although the hand was the manager of Bank1. The numbering of the banks is supposed to follow the date in which the modern version of their corporate archives was created. The Bank1 was the first and right after it the Bank2 archives was created[9]. With the exception of Bank2, all other banks were influenced by and had the active involvement of the Bank1 archivist in their creation. Together with other members from TAAG and ACA, she did much outreach to the business community spreading the word about the benefits of having an archives and how they could help them

[9] The date of creation for the Bank2 was conventioned with the archivist based on the date she started to work in the archives, but they did not have a full-fledged archives before the 1970s.

to set them up. In the specific case of banking organizations, after some time 'bragging about' being the only bank with an archives, she said realized it would be much more interesting for her if the other banks also had their own archives. This would be the time for 'evagelizing' other Canadian banks. As she pointed out during the interview (interviewed on Feb. 26, 2013):

> I went out preaching […] I was very busy […] We were the first. And the Bank of Montreal had, everybody had something. They all had something. But they didn't have archives. So I, for a long time, was saying you know we're the first Canadian bank to have an archives. And then I realized, as I said to you, that you know businessmen don't like to lead if nobody follows. So eventually it dawned on me that this wasn't going anywhere. I'd better get the other banks to have archives too.

The first bank to follow her lead was the Bank3, which set up its archives in 1976. She and another archivist from the Imperial Oil were the ones who advised the creation of their archival program. She says they usually tried to identify some champions that could take the program forward. They usually had the agreement from the top level, at least top administrative level, and used to plan the corporate archives to be tied to the top level of the organization. She also had a central role in the development of the Bank4 archives in 1977. Lyn Lunsted was the archivist of Bank4 at the time, and they were good friends. They were also members of TAAG, and the creation of the archives in the Bank2 benefited much from this friendship. As the Bank1 archivist related during the interview (interviewed on Feb. 26, 2013):

> We had the Toronto Area Archivists Group, which started in 1974. And part of TAAG's purpose in life was to persuade as many people as possible to start archives. So we were constantly out doing that […] And so we wanted to make sure that, you know, the other banks joined us. And at that point, it was Lynn Lunsted from the [Bank4]. The [Bank4] at that time was run out of Montreal. She used to take the train in, spend the day with me and my husband would take us to dinner and a movie, and if there was a TAAG meeting she'd come for the TAAG meeting. So it was a way of getting the [Bank3] to have an archives. It was one of those things that, it was the right time I guess.

She has also participated in the creation of the late archives program at Bank5. The story she tells is that they were informed that the Toronto Harbour Commission was dumping records, so they sent them a letter inviting a representative to participate in a series of lectures they were doing at the University of Toronto in an attempt at developing a masters' program in archival studies. Their representative was called Christine Ardern. Christine participated in the lectures, engaged with TAAG, and became a very talented records manager as well as archivist. During her interview, Christine told me in very brief

lines her story at the Bank5 and how the archives planned to be a strategic program at the organization failed to fulfil its promise, and the failure was because of a decision that was taken based on the distinct mandates between the archives, which were considered a governance issue, and the records management, understood as a more operational unit. She said she was already working with archives and records management when she saw a job posting for the position at the Bank5 and applied.

> I joined the staff in […] January 1989 and actually ended up going in to the archives group where there was a person who had been working on the collections but who wasn't an archivist. So at that point there was a couple of people doing records management and helping set up filing systems etc. […] So my job was to develop a strategic plan for the archives and how it could expand into the organization and what its role would be […] So after I'd developed the strategic plan, we got approval for the plan and we began to work closely with the records management group […] And we began to work with records management. But we merged the two groups so the archives and records management program became part of our group […] So they, the records management group actually became sort of, I wouldn't say missionaries for the archives […] I mean it wasn't, there wasn't a separation between archives and records management because we just worked together on the programs because we needed to do it and, you know if you don't have a good records management program it's very difficult for the archives to be able to acquire materials in an organized fashion […] it's just about impossible for archivists to get what they need if they're not somehow linked in with records management […] The issue that we ran into was that the senior legal counsel who was responsible for both records management and archives, decided that, well he was basically told that he had to cut his budget and he had a number of groups that he could choose. And he chose to suggest that records management wasn't a governance issue, it was more of an operational issue. That the archives was governance but records management was something which could have been handled at the departmental level rather than at the corporate governance level.

This case reinforces the renewed view of the archival profession, and the renewed role for the archivists inside organizations. The memory-managing style of work on archives attempts at circumscribing the most prominent changes suggested by such approach Although it might sound like a hybrid between the practical and the historical views on the value of the records, it must be understood as a genuine approach and not as combination of previously existing approaches. The idea is the full integration of the archives into the managerial world, by reinforcing the responsibility of the corporate archives in providing information and support to other departments and to the essence of the business. The actions of the archives are oriented to the future, to what might be needed by the clients of the archives and to the possibilities of creating value through the deployment of the information retained in the archives. They are actively involved in adapting to new demands and new situations, offering different solutions and possibilities

for multiple clients. Corporate records thus become assets to be efficiently managed. The archivists become trained professionals with degrees in archival science, and although they continue to develop the more traditional and technical archival activities, they are more willing to engage in management, supporting and consulting activities and to promote the archives and its products throughout the organization.

6 PROFESSIONAL STRATEGIES IN THE BIG 5 CANADIAN BANKS

For now it must be clear that although the three ideal styles of memory work can be considered as available templates to orient the functioning of the archives inside the organizations, they do not simply manifest themselves as such but are negotiated, mixed and changed in accord to some specific characteristics particular to each organization. This leads to a second important question that moves beyond the identification of the broader patters of field templates and looks into the organizations themselves in order to identify the specific practices developed by professional archivists and bank archives and their contribution to the development of the archival programme inside the organization as well reinforce and contribute to the development of the archival profession at the Canadian banking sector and more broadly at the Canadian society. My analysis has focused on the strategic practices developed by banking archives, the practices they were developing with the manifest purpose of promoting and developing the archives and the archival profession both inside and outside Canadian banks.

The archivists I interviewed talked about three opposing sets of subjects: differentiating between material records and electronic records, looking to the past and looking to the future, and preserving for managerial or historical purposes. Problems with different sets of values and interests between managers and archivists were generally reported in the cases where the professionals maintained a more traditional (i.e. historical) orientation to the role of the archives in the organization. In the cases where they continue to portray the value of their work associated predominantly with the historical argument of the importance of record keeping for history writing and on the view of the archivist as the final lap of the document's life journey, their usually reinforced the distinctive aspects of the work of the archives and the work of the rest of the organization. They used to contrast the nature of their work with the managerial demands over many different dimensions. As a result, instead of integrating themselves in the work of the organization and its processes, they created a distance between the archives and the rest of the organization, neglecting other potential contributions they could be able to provide to the business and different ways of addressing their value to the management.

For most corporate archivists, keeping records in paper form is a fundamental dimension of their work. Paper records constituted the largest and also the most important part of the archives. They had been kept by previous archivists, donated by retired employees, or found in a dump and retrieved from the debris of the organizational past. It

would be much to say that the files inspire an emotional attachment for some of them. In contrast, the tendency seems to be an ideal of a paperless organization. The investment in computers and information technology do not stop to increase. More and more files and electronic content are being created than ever before. But the files are as easily deleted as they are created, and less and less of all the information that is generated is been recorded in some other, more durable media. Some archivists feel that nobody other than themselves seem to be worried about the records. Nobody seem to be aware of what would be lost with the transition from paper to digital records or paying attention to the challenges such change would bring to retaining those records.

The existence of differences in the temporal orientation of archivists and managers is not surprising. Management schools are clearly focused in developing planning and forecasting skills in the students, while archival schools must teach their alumni about records from the past, which constitute the main object of their work. Although this should not mean that archival records and historical information can be of no value for management, nor that archivists would not benefit from some of the planning skills and techniques used by managers, some archivists consider that the managerial interests in present efficiency and future results is contrary force to the preservation of the archives. One reason was that historical records depend on the passage of time to become valuable, which is very different from the reality of active or intermediary records, more immediately useful to the routine activities of an organization. Another usual comment regarding historical records is that the producer of the records rarely benefits from their use, and thus tend to attribute low value to its retention.

There is a third dissent between managers and archivists that consider their overall fit within the organization and the available resources for the development of the archive. All the archivists interviewed commented about the inexistence of a clear definition for the role of the archives in the organization and its connection with other departments. Managers and other employees usually viewed the archive as a dead end, as a keeper of old documentation. The archives would collect documents, and would then develop their work to make that information available when needed. Managers were said not to know what happen in the archives. They were though as generally guessing about what the archives do, and most of the time as having only partial knowledge about the activities developed by the archives. The archives have never had a clear functional area to respond to. They were also considered not to have to work close to any other department in special; what would make of them kind of a nomad department. Depending on the view managers used to hold on the work of the archives, they would change it from place to

place in the organizational chart. To collect and retain records, and providing some information when necessary, any department from Law to Communications, and even Human Resources, would be suitable for the archives.

Implicit in this view is the understanding of the archives as a resource spending instead of a profit generating division. Any investment in the archives would generate little return for the organization as a whole. As archivists generally say: people only remember of them when there is an anniversary or some sort of celebration date coming. They are usually not considered to be essential to the business, but a very superfluous activity no rarely associated with elegant stories and curiosities about the organization's past. They rarely have a place in the day-to-day operation of the organization, and are called only when somebody needs to know anything that happen to the organization in the past. And even in these cases, depending on what they have in their archives, they might or might not be able to offer some guidance. So there seems to be little incentives for the organization to invest in the archives other than when they can be really useful to the business, i.e. when the organization wants to celebrate an anniversary or commemorate a specific milestone in its history.

The archive is though as a very passive unit in the organization. This is usually associated with the nature of their work and the personality of the archivists. Archives work under the demand of other departments and researchers. Their job is to get the records ready so other interested parties would be able to find the information they need. So the nature of their work is seen as a detailed, individual, time consuming, and isolated process of receiving, organizing and cataloguing the records. This definition implies a remarkable difference between the work done by archivists in the public sector and in private corporations. In the public sector there is usually a team of archivists that receive the records, organize them and make them available for external researchers. They provide only a general guidance or advice where the researchers can find the records, but it is not part of their job to do the research themselves. In contrast, corporate archives are generally a very small area inside the organization, usually comprising no more than two or three people. Corporate archivists tend to have very little contact with people from outside of the organization. They usually work by the demands of other units, interested in some information that the archives might have. Different from their peers in the public service, a great part of the job of a corporate archivist is to do research. They do not limit themselves at indicating where the records are but must provide the information required by other departments. This activity can be even more time consuming than cataloguing new records. Together, both cataloguing and researching are consider so overwhelming

that they do not leave much space for other activities, including acquiring new records and anticipating the possible needs form other departments.

Although I called these items the dissents between managers and archivists, I did so after the archivists I interviewed and the literature on archives I reviewed. I would add the comment, though, that they should be not thought of as divergences on managers and archivists' understanding about the archives. In fact, they seem to reflect a more traditional orientation to the role of archives and the situation of corporate archives. They would fit clearly with a traditional rhetoric of 'professionalism' (Freidson, 1994). This strategy could be though as part of a self-defence strategy. It relies on the maintenance of a professional ideal of public good inherited from the emergence of the archives as part of a state project and associated with historians in writing the history of the nation. This rhetoric elaborates on the distinction between the high-archival work of preserving the national heritage and the low-archival work of keeping the records for a given company. It separates a work done with the purpose of preserving the 'Heritage of Humanity' (e.g. UNESCO) and taking care of the heritage of a business company. They draw the distinction between final goals, value ethics, autonomy at work, and also other aspects that easily fit with the traditional dissent between professionals and managers, professional work and corporations. But in doing so, instead of contributing to the development of corporate archives and the strengthening of the archival profession in a private organization context, they are detrimental to the professional and its role, as well as to the position of the archives in the organizational structure and its ability in providing results for the organization.

Analyzing the case of the most successful bank archives it seems that one of the best answers to get access to the records of other departments and get them engaged in keeping the records and sending them to the archives was through the development of a internal consciousness that assumed that the archives were not the sole responsible unit for keeping the organizational memory, but this was the task of all people and all units in the organization. Some archivists clearly recognized this was the case, reflexively avoiding labels like 'keepers the organizational past' and even the denomination of 'archivist', because of the disempowering effect of this characterization. They say that if they were the only unit interested in preserving the past, they would be helpless without the support of other organizational departments. Additionally, if their only task was to store information about the organizational past, i.e. if they were only the final step of the process, they would have a trivial role in the overall set of organizational activities and their position in the organizational structure would be very fragile. This would make the work of the archives look irrelevant to the organization and suitable for being first dismissed in situations

threatening the organizational survival or as part of the development of cost-reduction strategies.

If the traditional view on the archives tends to consider as its main purpose to be the keeper of the organizational memory, the guardian to the access to the organizational past, a more recent approach argues that what the archives do is managing important information for the organization. Their role is managing organizational information, information about its past decisions and practices, events, people, products, and any other kind of information that might be relevant for the development of the business. In the banks in which the archives achieved a position of more prominence, the changes in the corporate environment and in the professional requirements were more easily understood and absorbed. They do not fell limited by new technologies and new media, but hold on to their responsibility in preserving evidence from the past no matter what the form it was originally generated. They developed mechanisms for controlling the flux of information, established partnership relationships with other powerful departments, and inculcated an archival policy and a routine of archival retention, creating a structure supporting the development of their activities. In banks in which the archives did not have the necessary discretion to enforce the creation or maintenance of adequate policies and controls, the archives could only go after the producers asking for their files or recognize the loss of many records. In these cases, instead of relying on a formal, bureaucratic structure of authority to backup their actions, they have usually used more informal strategies as the activation of their own personal ties or personal capital, exchanging job related favours, or giving support to the work of other organizational units.

The cases in which a better alignment between the views of archivists and managers seemed to be the case, the archivists were also aware of and talked about the same points of contrast and dividing lines between what is considered the traditional view of the profession and the general view of managers and the organization. Nevertheless, interestingly enough, they did not make a case of it or exhibited any kind of interest in fighting positions that were apparently contrary to the traditional view of the archives. On the contrary, they usually recognize this situation as a given, as something they would have to deal with, as the way things were done inside private organizations. Some archivists recognized that their position would not be much different if they work to public services, since what they were doing was just serving the 'institution', i.e. the organization, they were working for, and they would do the same in the public sector. This is clearly the argument of the new school in archival theory, and it brings enormous consequences for rethinking the profession, including its identity, practices, techniques, training and the

behaviour of the professionals. Instead of inadvertently holding on to a debilitating skirmishing position, corporate archivists actively developed a set of strategies partially incorporating the managerial demands to their own professional agenda, and also translated their purposes into a managerial agenda.

The first broad category of strategies they develop can be called **embedding work**, and consists in interweaving the archival practices and the archival department with the other corporate practices and the corporate structure. It is an internal-oriented set of strategies whose first goal is to develop a supportive structure for the operation of the archives. The notion of embedding the archives goes beyond the cosmetic aligning the archives to the managerial orientation, policies and rules of the organization; it is truly an attempt at sewing the archives into the organizational mesh. A common strategy is directly related to the possession of historical knowledge about the organizational past and the common usage of this knowledge in the work of archives. It consisted in naturalizing the existence of the archives by making reference to its long existence or essential aspect in the organization. But probably the strongest strategies for embedding the archive in the organization were developing interdepartmental ties and working with a client-service orientation. The first case involves considering the various possibilities of the archives at engaging with people and demonstrating to other departments how the archives can add value to their operation based on their needs and interests. The second strategy is also close to this, and considers treating everybody as clients and doing your best to provide them everything they needed. This might include being more efficient, delivering it correctly and even doing more than was at first expected from them.

The second set of strategies is also focused on the internal dimension of the organization and its departments and consists in developing **boundary work** with the aim of expanding the internal jurisdiction of the archives over other areas, products or activities, as well as delimiting their competence and authority over the existing departmental and occupational boundaries. The notion of expanding jurisdiction comprises the idea of finding available opportunities for the archives to get engaged in activities that are different from its core competence, but that might provide a source of stability and support for the more traditional or routine activities developed by the archives. This might include a great range of possibilities: from incorporating a corporate art program to developing databases for departments. Associated with this strategy of 'dividing and conquering' there is the need of dominating and defending both existing and new jurisdictions, what can be done through the development of authority and the creation of mechanisms of control incorporated to the structure of the organization.

The last set of strategies developed by the professional archivists in order to boost the archival function inside the banks comprehends the development of **outreaching work**. By outreaching work I mean three complementary movements: 1) publicizing your work and gaining legitimacy for the organization and its archives, 2) helping out external parties and legitimating yourself and your work as a professional, and 3) establishing an external network of peers and allies to support your ideas and projects. The archivist at Bank1 could be considered the only one to have strongly engaged with this set of strategies. She developed external ties with people in the Public Archives and professional associations. She was actually involved in the very creation of the profession and the professional community through her engagement with archivists both in Canada and the U.S. and her efforts at developing the archival profession. This has also been closely related to her work in 'preaching' or 'evangelizing' banks and corporations about the importance of the archives, and her interest in participating in the creation of the archival programs in these different organizations.

These strategies follow more recent developments in the literature on institutional work (Lawrence et al., 2013) and their recent approach to the work developed inside the organization (Gawer & Phillips, 2013). They actually show part of the dynamics of the styles of memory work previously presented. A close analysis of the work develop by the archives in the five largest Canadian banks shows that the archives that resemble most the aspects considered in the second style of memory-construction tend to keep a not so successful position inside the organization as the others that exhibit more characteristics associated with the third style of memory-managing. Memory-construction work seems to be more internal-oriented, focused on staffing other departments and looking at the preservation of corporate memory as its final goal. On the other hand, memory-managing work has a broader understand of its mandate. It focuses on building value to the organization through information-use, and goes beyond the organization in its search for support and legitimacy to better develop its organizational mandate.

The relevance of corporate archives and professional archivists for the organizational practices of remembering was thus stronger in Bank1 and Bank4. They both had a team of 6 and 4 archivists, against the 2 archivists in Bank5, and the traditional single archivist from Banks 2 and 3. While the situation of Bank2, Bank3, and Bank5 seems not to be so different from one another, Bank 2 and Bank3 are having a better time due to some unusual special projects they are currently developing. Bank 2 archives is actually dealing with the bicentennial of the bank, and had the opportunity to hire two other archivists to help with the arrangements for the commemoration. Bank 3 is involved in setting up a

brand new archives in the United States for keeping the records of the bank operation in America, what has brought more staff and resources for the archives. Both of them know that this is only a temporal situation, but they wish they could keep the historical awareness, the interest, and the resources after the show has ended. The three styles of memory work and associated sets of archival development strategies might offer some guidance for archivists' reflection and future planning.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The first style of memory work developed in the beginning of the 20th century. It was based on the practical needs of emerging corporations and usually developed by employees with no specialized training. The emergence of the historical profession and its association with the state's nationalist project constituted the background for the development of a second approach to the development of archival practices, based in the historical relevance of the records for national heritage and academic research. But if the new class of historians-archivists could ignore for a while the more administrative aspects of records management, after the World War II it became an impossible task, and there has been an increasing pressure for the adoption of records management practices in conjunction with the development of the archives. Embodied in the discipline of Records Management, the rationale for the adoption of archival practices could not consider only its historical value, but must also take into account in its administrative and functional relevance to the ongoing practices and the efficiency of corporate operations. A third approach would start to be cooked wit the increasing awareness of the archival profession, and from the 1980s on an integrative style for the management of records would emerge positioning the archivist at the center of the historical enterprise and subsuming the records management as an accessory practice to archival work.

These three different approaches to the problem of preserving the Canadian collective memory have also been used to deal with the more restrict problem of preserving the memory of Canadian organizations and communities. My analysis has shown that it is possible to identify a related set of practices associated with each of these styles of memory work in the field of business and corporate archives in Canada. In this, they work as broad social templates or solutions that can be used to deal with more specific situations in a broad range of contexts. In the past there has been a temporal gap in the application of the new emerging approaches to deal with the memory of social collectivities to the context of business organizations. This situation was attributed to specific characteristics of the corporate structure, and illustrates how broad social orientations are diffracted through different layers of social activity (Greenwood et al., 2011). Their manifestation in the field of corporate organizations, and more specifically in the Canadian banking industry, was associated with existing orders of value and ideological orientations that characterize the business organizational life. These shared social assumptions were thus actively maintaining the efficient and administrative basis of the memory practices inside the corporations at the same time they allowed the

incorporation of some aspects of the new historicized attributions of the archivists developed through formal training and recruitment.

The analysis of the creation of archival departments in the five largest Canadian banks illustrates this argument and shows the efforts developed by professional archivists in mediating between the society, the field, and the organization. In the corporate contexts where the archivists could not rely on other sources of legitimacy and authority to develop their professional oriented practices they were generally subjected to the spaces of manoeuvrability offered by the organization, usually in a situation where they lacked the necessary resources and discretion both for fulfilling their professional mission and to satisfactorily attend the demands imposed by their role in the corporation. In contrast, in the cases where the archivists were able to mobilize other sets of actors to endorse and support the development of their professional project through the structure of the corporation, they have also benefited from organizational recognition and support, and could generate a positive reinforcing cycle by providing the organization the necessary competences and professional work it demanded through opening a working space for the profession inside the corporate structure.

The changes in the interest of historians for other kinds of records different than the ones preserved by national archives associated with a general dissatisfaction with the status of the profession and the existing professional opportunities generated a proper environment for the blossoming of activists within the profession "[…] to critique the existing orthodoxy and proffer a new logic and a role identity" (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003, p. 803). If archivists started as a group bounded together by the need of providing the sources historians needed to write history about Canada and its institutions, they begun to take control of the situation when they developed a consciousness about themselves as a professional group in their own right. This consciousness was developed under the shoulders of historians and historians' associations. The rupture with historians came after a desertion of some archivists and the starting of their own set of meetings and conferences, their professional association, training courses and graduate education, and scholarly journals. The professional decoupling was supported by the infrastructure of the Canadian state. Within the Public Archives the archivists had economic and political support, as well as the biggest network of archivists in the country. But the changes did not start from the inside. They were initiated by a small group of archivists that developed an understanding contrary to the dominant orientation of the Public Archives. But although divergent in their views, they have benefitted from the existing available structure of the

National Archives to make themselves heard and to change the status of their ideas into recommendations from national research committees to the Canadian government.

As Rojas (2010) pointed out, involvement in institutional work can be a straightforward way for an individual or group to leverage its legitimacy and authority inside an organization. By engaging in practices attempted at reconfiguring relevant institutions in the field they might increase the legitimacy of their positions and generate new paths for the acquisition of symbolic resources and other forms of resources, thus supporting further power acquisition activities as well as the development of their intended projects. The professional project developed by archivists with the foundation of professional institutions and interests groups and the growing involvement and influence over the creation of new archives, especially in private organizations, can be considered as a general power seeking set of activities. The case of Bank1 is especially interesting in this regard, since there is a clear sense of reflexivity and understanding supporting the involvement of the archivist in field-configuring practices. This becomes explicit through her comments about going to other banks and organizations to 'spread the word' and the need to get other banks developing the same kind of practices as a way of legitimizing her own work at Bank1.

A major difference between the case analyzed by Rojas (2010) and the present analysis is that his study focused on the way the Dean of the university transformed social capital into organizational authority, while in the present case the archivist would probably be more identified with the activists that were trying to promote the changes in the university. By 'outreaching' other Canadian banks and convincing some of them to formalize their corporate archives and hire professional archivists for managing their records, the archivist from Bank1 was not only contributing to the professionalization of the activity and the legitimation of the role of corporate archives in financial organizations. Additionally, she was creating a reputation as a leading archivist in the field, establishing an archival community and a relational base of allies, contributing to the professionalization of the archival profession, and the most important, generating social capital that could be used in the future to build power and strengthen her position and the archives department role inside the organization.

The study thus shows that the practices of remembering developed by Canadian banks were highly influenced by the broad developments in the structure of the archival profession and the body of archival thought. But this cannot be generalized for all sectors and all corporations. In the Canadian banking sector the first archives exclusively focused on the historical value of the archives do not have more than 40 years, suggesting that

distinct dynamics are mediating the broad social influences in the field. The major influence in the development of the corporate archives in the Canadian banking sector was the development of the archival profession. The institutional reformation of the profession characterized by the separation from the historical profession and the efforts to establish a distinct jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988) have lead to the reformulation of the foundations of professional though and practice, displacing the historical value as the core value of their work and the state as the natural structure for the development of the profession. The archivists became autonomous and started to control their own professional destiny.

My research has the potential to inform four different strands of literature, including: a) organizational memory, b) professions, c) institutional theory, and d) archival science. There are three main contributions of the present study for the literature on organizational memory. The first is that the results of the research show the need of analyzing the collective memory of organizations from a broader perspective not restricted to the organizational dynamics, since the developments in the national level and field level exert influence on the memory work developed by organizations. The second is that a functional analysis of organizational memory is only partially adequate to understand the memory dynamics inside the organization. Since the focus is predominantly on the level of creation, transformation and use of the corporate information and knowledge management, it leaves underexplored a series of other related phenomena that are important for conceptualizing memory in organizations. The last contribution concerns the need for understanding the role of organizations in preserving the broader national and social memories. Although this was not the focus on the present study, the organizational support to the development of the professional project of the archival profession generates a great debate on ethical and practical matters, and brings the organization closer to the center of the national policies of memory retention.

The case of the Canadian banking sector also speaks to the recent reviews offered by Muzio, Brock, and Suddaby (2013), and their calls for the development of a still open agenda for connecting the literature on professions with organizational theory and, more specifically, with works on the institutional theory tradition. The case of corporate archives in Canadian banking organizations allow me to make some conjectures on the role of professionals and professional associations in institutional change processes. My research broadly encompasses two moments of institutional change, both interweaved with transformations on professions and professional roles. The first is characterized by the development of a nation building and integrationist project by the Canadian state, which found in the process of writing and disseminating of Canadian history a fundamental step.

As a result of this general attempt, which connected the interests of the state and national historians, there has been a great amount of investment in the collection and preservation of historical records and artefacts, and together with them the rising of a new occupational body dedicated to developing this task. The elaboration of this occupation into a new profession characterizes the second major moment of this story with the rising professional project of the archival profession and the emergence professional archivist in Canada.

The development of a new institutional sociology of the professions is predicted on the lack of abstract theoretical constructs that are able to account for the role of professions and professionals as institutional agents. It is said that although various empirical studies exist in which their active role is exposed, they tend to remain as in-depth case studies of very specific situations, and "[…] do not seek to abstract and theorize the mechanisms and techniques through which professions participate in and facilitate processes of institutional change" (Muzio et al., 2013, p. 704). The findings seem to contribute to this call by describing: 1) how the national logics of memory keeping embedded in the notion of 'total archives' influenced the development of the professions of both historians and archivists, and the subsequent professional dynamics contribute to change the meaning and the practices associated with the idea of 'total archives'; 2) how the evolution of the corpus of knowledge of a profession might generate an overall change in its practices and triggers a parallel set of changes in other professions which constitute a symbiosis-dependent professional system (Abbott, 1988); 3) how the impact of the changes might prompt the emergence of a core group of people with a professionalization project directed at conquering professional autonomy by reducing the dependence from the previous associated profession and looking for the support of other social actors; and finally 4) how these professionals are able to develop new social structures aligned with the new set of supporting social actors as an attempt to guarantee the survival and further development of the profession.

A third potential contribution might be offered to the development of institutional theory of organizations. The first promising avenue for research considers the inclusion of collective memory in the institutional analytical framework as important concept for the theorization of social and organizational reality. A second contribution is to show the role of professionals in mediating and influencing the development of practices and definitions in different levels of social reality. The research also describes how the logics manifest in the field reach organizations as systems of value-practices-justifications, and are negotiated inside the organizational boundaries and integrated with their own system of practices. A fourth aspect consider the identification of a set of strategies developed by low-level

professionals inside the organizations that can contribute by advancing the professional project and changing the practices developed in the field. The final contribution might be to bring some attention to the field of archives and archivists, their practices and their theoretical development, both as an interesting field for future research and a potential literature for theoretical cross-fertilization.

Finally, the most recent preoccupations of archival theory and the"[…] avowed need for socio-historical and cultural understanding on archival practice itself" (Brothman, 1991, p. 80) were also contemplated in this research. I used the concept of archives as a way of operationalizing the more intangible concept of collective memory. Archives were defined as the formalized or material side of the collective memory, the impressions a given society has produced and preserved in the form of written sources due to their importance in a given moment in time and its continuous relevance as mnemonic traces or exemplars of that period that are still able to speak to and inform the present. However, by evocating the auxiliary concept of archive I brought together a whole different area with a different tradition of thought that has developed under the name of archival studies or archival science. To better understand my research object and the main forces involved in shaping it, I had to get acquainted with the literature of this area. This involvement helped me to make more sense of my data, to get to know important issues related to the practice and practitioners of corporate archives, and to understand better the institutional elements influencing the definition of archives, archival practices, and archival profession.

The benefits I took from this literature are far superior the ones I would be able to provide in any attempt to enrich it and contribute to its further development, but maybe a brief comment on relevance of institutional issues to the development of archives can suggest some possible avenues for future research. The argument on the importance of institutions to the development of archival practice is not at all new for archivists, but the understanding of the archivist as an institution of social memory is still very recent and underdeveloped. For a long time there has been no place granted for archivists in the construction of collective memory. Only more recently, as Cook (2006) elegantly pointed out, a few historians started to recognize the archival operation that precedes and constructs the historical operation that makes sense of and creates social reality. This opens a brand new avenue for archival studies, and brings the connection between institutions, archives, and social memory to the fore of the analysis.

Archival theory started to recognize the active role of the archivist in defining the order of value in a given collection, and considers that the values are nothing but an embodiment of the values existing in society (Brothman, 1991). Contrary to the common

view influenced by the work of historians and their need of a sanitized version of the past – which ultimately relied in a naturally sedimented and objectively arranged archive – contemporary thought in archival theory highlight the subjective and socially constructed nature of the archives, always subjected to ideological influences (Schwartz & Cook, 2002). This reformulation in archival theory sanctions a comprehensive approach to archival work without the need of chopping off neither of its legs. If the value of the records is to be found in its use – a use that "reflects democratic political and economic realities as well as institutional and professional interests" (Brothman, 1991, p. 86) –, the records are open for different usages. Different people, from different groups, with distinct orientations and purposes might found varied utility in the preserved records, and from this the records derive their richness. The role of the archivist in this scenario is less to impartially clean up the records for future historical uses that to find new ways of making them available and utile.

Rather than a story of opposing logics between managerialism and professionalism, or the deprofessionalization of occupations with large and complex organizations (Freidson, 2001), what I found in my research has been a reflexive adjustment to the managerial logics as a way of preserving the boundaries of professional jurisdiction and also expanding them externally to records management and internally by bringing more authority to the archives through the development of modes of control and procedures applied to the work of other peoples and other divisions in the organization. I did not find passive and docile professionals subjected to bureaucratic and managerial pressures that undermined their professional abilities and ethics. What I found was very thoughtful and skilled professionals archivists that had the ability of navigating in the business world and found in a corporation the resources they needed to develop their work. They might have had a bigger challenge than their peers working at the state and other kinds of archives, but they were smart enough to find their way into the corporate environment and to place their archives and their work as an important dimension of the business of the organization. The reflexive incorporation of managerial values and principles did not undermine the professional authority of corporate archivists or subjected them to unbearable ethical conflicts. Instead, this has shown itself an essential step in assuring their survival and the possibilities of developing the archives in corporate organizations.

Different from the notion of field-configuring events, the practices analyzed were not essential to the organizational and did not generate a great rupture with the existing state of affairs. By looking at more peripheral practices instead of the nuclear practices that define the nature of a business or organizational field, my research shows that some

actors operating at the margins of the organization were able to bring changes and influence the internal dynamic of the corporation. These changes might be at first overlooked and underappreciated, but over time they might grow and influence other sets of organizational and field-level practices. It also gives some indication of the process by which these less powerful actors attempt to attach themselves to roles and functions inside the organizational structure, and use a multiplicity of internal and external strategies to sustain the existence and develop their departments. My argument then reinforces the need of understanding the subtler, aggregative side of the processes of institutional construction. The need to look at institutionalization as a progressive layering and sedimentation dynamics of small changes over time that might trigger, give support, or even follow for more radical and revolutionary changes.

It is interesting to note that without some few exceptions, there has been very little discussion on the relation between archival profession and the state. The role of the state in preserving the Canadian collective memory was very much debated, as well as if the proper way of doing it was through a centralized agency responsible for collecting and preserving the records or through a decentralization policy relying on the creation of regional and local archival organizations dedicated to preserving the records from their respective communities. But apart from some brief comments on the role of universities and community and religious archives, the debates still assume the state as the main actor in preserving the national memory. If the image of a network were evoked, the state would be at the center and feed into most of the others peripheral archives. Probably the best explanation for this should consider the traditional state heritage and leadership as the main factor conditioning two other aspects of the reflection on the archival work in Canada: the first considers the existing structure of the archival system and archival profession in Canada, and the restrictions they impose in the development of radical changes; the second takes into account that most scholars advocating a new role for the archival profession are themselves the result of that structure, and in many cases they work or have worked for the state, or were attached to the system through some university or archival organization that used to benefit from national assistance.

This situation points to a third factor that is the underdevelopment of other avenues for the creation of a new system of national archives, or for the expansion of the actual system. In both cases there are two main issues that must be considered. The first is which kinds of social structures would give support for the development of a new system or to the expansion of the existing system? The second is where would the necessary funding for the development of archival activities come from? My argument is that

Canadian archival profession is mature enough and already have an alternative archival theory that could support a different approach for the problem of national memory. The step further could be a move from a state-based professionalization model to an organization-based model. This seems to be the general tendency, if not the most plausible alternative for the development of the national archival system as well as the archival profession in Canada.

Although there have been attempts by the state and the professionals at coopting private organizations and corporations at creating their own archives as early as in the 1960s, with the exception of a few number of cases they have been mostly unsuccessful. One of the main reasons for the failed attempts, I believe, has to do with the rationale used to justify the entrance of archivists and the introduction of archival practices in organizations. Before the awakening of the profession to a new reality in the 1980s the dominant rationale behind the creation of archives lied on their historical purpose and their public service responsibility. As generally noticed in the literature on business and corporate archives, as well as shown by the case of the Canadian banks, the setting up of archival divisions was traditionally associated to celebratory purposes. Organizations would be interested in the work of a historian and an archivist only when they felt the need to celebrate an anniversary or to commemorate a milestone in organizational history. In these situations, it has been generally the case of hiring consulting companies or doing ad-hoc contracts with historians for short-term projects with a clear defined product as a website, an exposition, or a coffee-table book telling the history of the company (Delahaye, Booth, Clark, Procter, & Rowlinson, 2009).

The situation appears to be different in the case of records management, in which the main rationale behind its implementation lies in achieving administrative efficiency and managing the increasing amount of records and files produced by the organization. Introducing a records management program in an organization seems to be well aligned with the general management ideology, and brings no additional problem or justification other than the argument on efficiency and economic results. Although a proper evaluation would require an adequate research focused on the work of records management in business organizations, the five cases researched developed some kind of records management activity. In some of the cases it was simply a set of policies regulating the discard of documents, or a storage company hired to keep intermediate records and discarding them once the legal time for keeping them had ended. Somebody might argue that the archives could have influenced the organizations to hire professional records management services, but was not true at least for one of the banks.

What I am arguing is that along with the interest organizations might have in developing some practice of remembering, the records management is a strong pathway for the archivists entry into organizations. As the interviews have shown, it is also a very effective way for getting control over the dynamics of creation, exchange, and discard of information inside the organization, and thus safeguarding the records for permanent preservation in the archives. Beyond the ability to setting up retention schedules, and defining policies of records creation, use, and discard, the frequency of interaction with other departments also tends to be amplified since they are dealing with records used in a daily basis at the organization. This would be helpful for the archives to develop stronger ties and long-lasting relationships with other organizational units, as well as to get more involved in information-related projects. To participate of the process of records creation from the beginning is also the most, if not the only, effective way of dealing with born-digital records, information technology advancements, and the new digital work culture. Thus the potential result of associating a records management function with the work of archives is to bring greater awareness, authority and relevance to archivists and their work in an organizational context.

The revised body of professional thought thus seems to provide good prospects for an increasingly beneficial relation between organizations and archivists. The traditional role of the archivist-as-keeper and archivist-as-historian with his mission as keeper of the past, remembered for celebratory purposes, and its main functions as historical researcher, digging information from the records, and collector of facts and artefacts from the past should not be maintained without changes. The roles of the archivist-as-architect, participating in the creation of the organizational information structure, archivist-as-historian-of-the-record, analyzing the context of production and appraising documents for retention, and archivist-as-narrator, attributing value to the records and giving meaning to the past of the organization should increasingly be recognized as an integral part of the work developed by corporate archivists. The last couple of years have shown a very productive partnership between corporate archivists and other professionals in organizations. Beyond the traditional corporate history books, expositions of photographs and documents, and corporate museums, they have contributed to the creation and the exploration of different uses for the organizational history. The corporate past, as mediated by historians and archivists, has become an important instrument for marketing initiatives and the engagement of the organization with consumers. It has also been used for organizational impression management, identity construction, and employee motivation, besides various activities aimed at legitimating the organization and its practices.

The boundaries between archives and records management seem to have started eroding about thirty years ago. The work of archivists and records management used to be more clearly defined. The two were usually differentiated based on their private or public orientation, their overall contribution to a given organization or to the society as a whole, the value of the records predicated on efficiency or on historiographical purposes, and the focus on the current or permanent stages of the life-cycle of the record. It seems that the changes in the archival profession and the associated social changes contributed to blur these distinctions. In the new archival approach the archivist is seen as information manager and storyteller rather than guardian of the records and handmaiden of history (Cook, 2001; Nesmith, 2002). There is no life-cycle of the record comprised by some stages, but a continuum from its creation until its final deposition into the archives (Atherton, 1985). The primary responsibility of the archives was rethought as the protection of evidence of the record and its context of creation (Duranti, 1994; Eastwood, 1992b). In this sense, the archivist is necessarily committed to the creator of the records in the first place, but this does not go against its public service to the society (Cook, 2006; Eastwood, 1992b). A broader valuation of the records is also at work. Instead of being appraised for their historical value only, archivists are considering the multiple beneficiaries of the records, what includes its administrative value to the organization as well as other values it might have for different communities of users (Brothman, 1991; Cook, 2009).

This clearly signals a professional exercise of boundary work attempted at expanding the jurisdiction of archivists and the archival profession over the work of records managers. There is still not much light if the intention is only to coopt records managers to work together with archivists for the benefit of the two, or if there is some plan of actually taking over the full body of knowledge from records management and merging it within a single jurisdiction as part of a new professional project. The three possibilities were found in the empirical research in the level of organizational practices. In some banks the archives and the records management were clearly separated and even disconnected divisions largely independent from each other. They represent different professional bodies with distinct areas of expertise and responsibility and no overlapping goals and activities. In some other cases the records management used to work closely to the archives. They were still different areas with different professionals responding to different organizational goals, but they used to benefit from synergy. They understood their work as a shared responsibility on taking care of the records of the organization, so they usually developed some joint efforts as defining the records retention policy and retention

schedules. The records management was thus auxiliary or complementary to the work of the archives through a partnership relation. The third model presented the development of records management activities by the archives. In this situation, records management becomes an integral part of the work of the archives. The responsibility and expertise of dealing with the records is thus combined into a single professional area in the organization, which takes control of the whole process of records creation, retention, and disposal.

There is still no clear tendency defined for the relationship between archivists and records managers. Although the increasingly development of the archivists' professional project, their apparent success in institutional reformation, and the mild reaction of records management to the changes in the archival profession and archival work might suggest they would be able to append and additional professional jurisdiction, it is yet too soon for more than simple conjectures on it. It is worth to notice that there has been no case in which there was only the records management department, without the archives. This reality should probably be the most common case in organizations, but the focus of the research has limited the study to organizations with archives. It follows that the analysis of the professional memory work developed by corporate archives and archivists is an important, albeit a very small part of a much broader and complex phenomena of collective remembering in organizations. On the one hand, there remains a whole set of organizations that need to be studied in the ways they deal with their records, i.e. the most 'tangible' part of the corporate memory. On the other, there is still much to be known about organizational memory work, remembering in organizations, and organizational collective memory.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW PLAN

1 Development of private archives and bank archives in Canada

What is your understanding of the development of the private archives, and more specifically of banking archives, in Canada?

2 The Bank Archive

The first thing I would like to know is about the creation of the archive. Why the bank decided to create an archive and how it was done?

2.1 Why was it created?

- Were you involved since the beginning? If no, who was the person (can provide contact)?
- Was it created by a particular president or group of directors? Do you think it is possible to get access to them?
- Who have worked in the process? Have you hired a consulting company or external advisors?
- What was the context of the Canadian society at that moment?
- Was there any governmental or community influence?
- What was the situation of the Bank at that moment?
- Are you aware of other similar initiatives at that period?
- Who decided to create the archive?
- Was it a consensual decision?

2.2 How was it done?

- How was the creation of the archive operationalized?
- Did you have a storage facility for the documents?
- Did you have an archivist?
- Did you develop any kind of general initiative for recovering documents/photographs from employees or the community?
- Did you follow any benchmark or existing banking archive model in creating the Archive?
- Did you use any consulting firm to help developing the project?
- How did you decide about the way the archive would be structured or organized?
- How long did it take to create it?
- Did you make any celebration for the creation of the archive (i.e. launching event)?
- How the creation of the archive was perceived by the other areas and divisions of the Bank?
- Did the other divisions contribute to or give any support to the creation of the archive?
- What were the attributions and responsibilities of the archive and the archivist?
- How the archive evolved until today? Did it suffer many changes over time?
- Do you have any documents/information that I could use in my research?

3 The Organization/Arrangement of the Archive

Could you please tell me about the organization of the archive, the arrangement of the records and other artifacts?

- How are the archival records actually arranged?
- What are the sections or directories of the archive?
- What kind of records do you maintain?
- What are the politics of retention and discard for documents?

- Do you have any discontinuity in your archival series?
- Is there any documental loss?
- Have the archive being subjected to many changes over time? Can you describe them?
- Is there any restricted area, or restricted access to the documents?
- Are there any documents which the access is granted based on some time span?

4 The Operation/Management of the Archive

Could you explain how the archive works?

4.1 Procedures

- How the archive works nowadays?
- How do you get new documents? Can you tell me the process, step-by-step?
- Do the other departments send you their records? What is the frequency?
- What are the criteria to preserve or discard any kind of documents? Do you have a policy formally stated?
- Do you maintain any records of bank operations outside Canada?
- Is there any process of recovery, cleaning or other special treatment of the documents?
- Which kind of documents do you usually receive?
- Who are the departments that usually provide the records?
- Do you also preserve emails and electronic documents in general?
- Is there any kind of documents that you are (legally) required to maintain? For how long? How do you do that?
- Who have the rights to get access to the archive?
- Who are the departments that generate most demands to the archive?
- Do you provide any kind of information for external parties?

4.2 Management

- Do you have a manual of best practices in banking or corporate archives? Are you aware of any national or international organizational that works to provide this kind of information?
- How the archive is financed? Do you have any budget?
- Is there any goal to the archive?
- Is there any performance assessment? If yes, how it is done? What is your perception about it?
- How many people actually work in the archive? Do they have any training?
- How would you characterize the influence of your hierarchical superiors on your job?
- Does the archive demand any kind of supervision or relation with public agencies or governmental bodies?
- Does the archive demand any kind of supervision or relation with some professional association?
- Are you aware of other public or private archives that maintain any kind of records related to Bank's past?

5 Banking Archives

I would like to know more about the relationship between the organization and the archive. What is the contribution of the archive to the organization?

5.1 Bank-Archive Relation

- In your perception, how the archive contributes to the development of organizational activities and goals?
- Is there any kind of internal debate about the purpose, the attributions and the contribution of the archive to the organization?

- What interest do you think the Bank have in maintaining the archive?
- Do you see any contradiction in the fact that the archive is maintained by a bank?
- What is the relationship between the archive and management of corporate memory?
- What is the relationship between the archive and the management of corporate identity?

5.2 Government-Archive Relation

- What is your perception about the National Archival System? And its relation with business and banking archives?
- What do you think about the Canadian legislation on archives? And its relation with business and banking archives?
- What is your perception about the Canadian banking archives? Public and Private.
- What do you think about the Bank's Archive, considering what you know about other banking archives in the world?
- What do you see for the future of the Bank's Archive?
- What do you see for the future of banking archives in general?

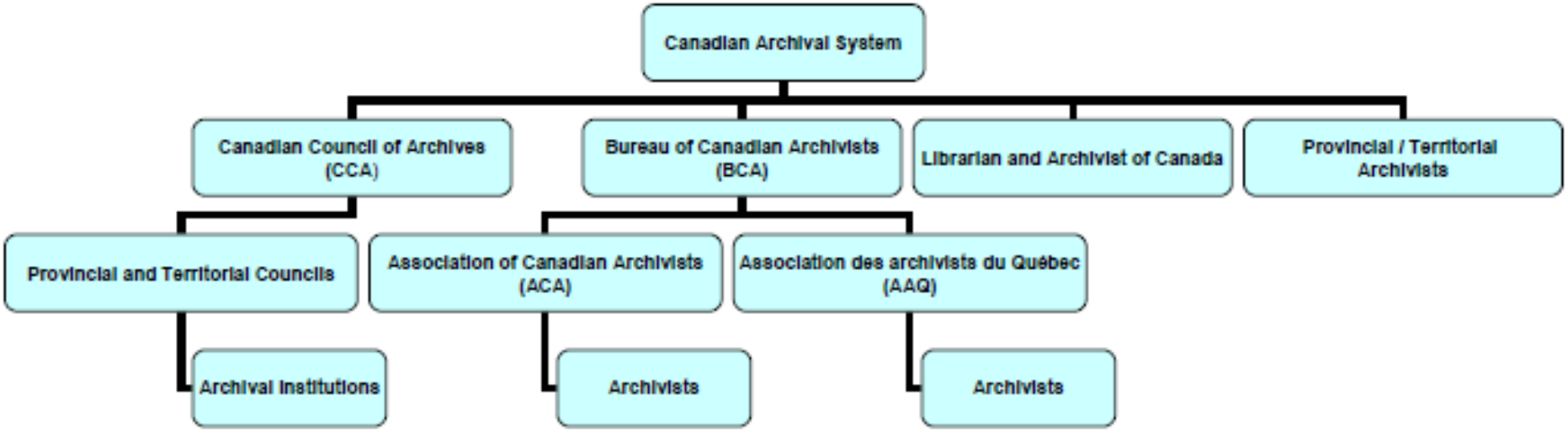
6 Life History - Educational and Professional Trajectory

Could you please tell me about your educational and professional trajectory?

- How did you get to be hired by the Bank?
- Have you ever gone visiting other banking archives in Canada or abroad?
- Do you maintain any contact with other banking archivists or business archivists in general?
- Are you a member of any kind of professional association?
- Do you attend to conferences and other events in your area?

APPENDIX II

THE CANADIAN ARCHIVAL SYSTEM



Source: Goodine (2007, p. 6)

APPENDIX III

CRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Ano	Dominion/National Archivists	Events	Archival Organizations	Bank Archives
1900s	Douglas Brymner (1872-1902)		17	
1910s	Arthur G. Doughty (1904-1935)	1912- Public Archives Act		
1920s			30	
1930s	Dr. James F Kennedy (1935-1937) Dr. Gustave Lanctôt (1937-1948)			
1940s	Dr. W. Kaye Lamb (1948-1968)	1949- Massey Commission		
1950s		1959 – First Canadian archives training course	49	
1960s		1963 – Glassco Comission 1963 – First publication of The Canadian Archivist 1966 – Public Records Order 1967 – Association des Archivistes du Québec 1967 – Journal *Archives* 1967 - Public Archives occupy a new building 1968 – Creation of the Business Archives Council of Canada		1967- Bank1 1967- Bank2
1970s	Wilfred Smith (1970-1984)	1975 - Commission on Canadian Studies (Symons Commission) 1975 - Association of Canadian Archivists 1975 - First publication of Archivaria 1976 - First annual meeting of the Association of Canadian Archivists 1976 – ACA's 'Guidelines Towards a Curriculum for Graduate Archival Training Leading to a Master's Degree in Archival Science'	174	1973- Bank of Canada 1976- Bank3 1977- Bank4
1980s	Jean-Pierre Wallot (1985-1997)	1980- Consultative Group on Canadian Archives (Wilson Report) 1981 – Master of Archival Studies (M.A.S.) in the University of British Columbia 1982- Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (Applebaum-Hébert Report) 1983 - Master of Archival Studies (M.A.S.) at University of Montreal 1985 – Canadian Council of Archives (CCA) 1987 – National Archives Act 1988 – ACA Revision of Guidelines for Postgraduate Archival Education 1988 – Master of Archival Studies (M.A.S.) at University Laval 1989 – Master of Archival Studies (M.A.S.) at University of Manitoba 1989 – Foundation of the Academy of Certified Archivists in the U.S.	627	1989- Bank5
1990s	Ian E. Wilson (1999-2009)	1990 – ACA's Guidelines for Master of Archival Studies Curriculum 1991 – ACA's Guidelines for Post-Appointment Continuing Education		

		and Training Programmes 1992 – ACA's Education Programme and Plan		
2000s	Daniel J. Caron (2009-2013)	2004 – Creation Library and Archives Canada 2012 – Elimination of National Archival Development Program (NADP)		
2010s	Hervé Déry (2013-)		> 800	

APPENDIX IV

STRATEGIES FOR SURVIVAL AND DEVELOPMENT

Aggregated Dimensions	2nd Order Themes	1st Order Concepts
Embedding Work	Doing Business to Keep History	- Translating - Collaborate with business - Working with managers' interests - Socializing executives - Supporting marketing operations - Changing traditional archives management
	Naturalizing Historical Evidence	- Scottish origins - Always had records keeping - 'There has always been'
	Exploiting Products	- Memorabilia - If do not have the products, find a niche
	Developing Interdepartmental Ties	- Becoming part of the banking process - Heritage display with the help of VE - Engaging with people - Work on the interests of the clients - Perception of other departments - More ties to different departments - Informal agreements
	Embedding the Archives in the Organization	- Avoid being the dangling thing - Work across the business lines - CSR work
	Client-Service Orientation	- More open to users - Answer department requests - Find grass-root support for its activities - Internal efficiency - Speak to other areas' goals and aims - Information consulting - Commitment - Internal and external clients - Future online search

		- Delivering - Integrity
	Preserving Memory and History	- Preserving records not legally required - People remember them for history issues - Subsidiary records - Special projects - Corporate history book - Historical use as one among various possibilities
Boundary Work	Expanding Jurisdiction	- Align RM with the goal of the areas - RM as foundation for archives - RM as archives' tool - 1% solution - Heresy and no existing model - Logical outgrow from the archives - Can use archival training - Archival knowledge changing industry standards - Feelings about it - Purpose of the collection - De-emphasize the myth of archives - Finding roles that can play and support - Becoming part of day to day activities - Expanding archives mandate and creating new products - Assimilating related functions
	Building Authority and Control	- Building spheres of influence - Having powerful backup - Performance record - Records management work in merging - Enforcing policies - Formalizing the rules - Use records management to enforce compliance
Outreaching Work	Historytelling	- Creating a story - Promoting bank image - Website - Corporate history as facsimile - Managerial interest in history - Heritage displays - Educating and building pride

		- Presentations - Exhibits - Anniversaries - Publicize corporate history
	Spreading the Word	- External ties - Open to the public - Internal and external preaching - Preaching to other banks - Would still be preaching
	Creating a Professional Community	- Informal relationships - Engaging in professional associations - Building training and certification programs - Developing relationship with other professionals - Participating of events, conferences and meetings - Doing consulting to other companies

APPENDIX V

REPRESENTATIVE QUOTES

Embedding Work

Doing Business to Keep History

- The traditional stereotypical way of managing the archives must change, so the archives will not survive.

"Well it's that old stereotype of the traditional archives and archivist where you have just information stored in a vault or in a basement somewhere and some probably old person is just working away. And I mean I think that's the way it was for the longest time in certain places, not everywhere. And in order to, I mean it has to change. Because that's how archives die. That's how they disappear. Is by staying locked away in the basement. So if you want to survive and if you want to be used and' you want to exist, you have to show your, what you can do. What can you add to your organization" (Interviewee2, Bank2).

- It is a clearly reflexive and strategic move the incorporation of more business activities and the use of these activities to backup the historical work.

"So you see what I'm trying to say, is like we're, you know, we're trying to straddle both. We like to push out more the business support, legal support thing because that's a hot button. Especially now the legal support, I mean we live in very litigious times. But if we were just to say we're a history shop, who knows how long we'd survive in this day and age? I don't think many people, many people would probably question why are we still around. Or certainly if they didn't, they would say why do you have a staff of four? Maybe you should only have a staff of one" (Bank4).

Naturalizing Historical Evidence

- They essentialize the interest in keeping records and distinguish an archival legacy in the organization.

"So at least here at the Bank of Montreal, as far as we know, because we don't have lots of detail on the early days, but as far as we know there's always been a records management, like, well there's always been people keeping documents. I guess that at first it was more for, for business purposes. And eventually it evolved into a historic conscience. And then the, a proper archives department was developed […] But that's, so that's, and there was always a conscience there for keeping the records" (Interviewee1, Bank2).

- The fact that 'there has always been' is relevant for considering some the archival legacy in the organization.

"And but we, the department, the archives department, it's history, I mean it started in 1977 […] It was an offshoot, there was always an informal archives. Royal Bank has produced three published histories. We produced a history in 1919 commemorating our fiftieth. Another one in 1969 commemorating our 100th, and another one in 1994 commemorating our 125th. The reason I mention that is because there's always been an informal archives. Someone in the organization was always astutely aware we should be keeping certain types of material" […] So in 1977 they decided to create a small formal archives which was an offshoot of our library" (Bank4).

Exploiting Products

- There are organizations that can exploit memoriabilia, but banks do not do it.
"And I think the bank archives is different in a way too, when you talk about Coca Cola and Harley Davidson and those kind of places, like they have a brand, in and of themselves. And people want to, Coke, people collect Coca Cola memorabilia […] Harley Davidson memorabilia. So there's an incentive in that regard to capture your history. Banks don't have that kind of cachet right? No one's collecting bank memorabilia. Well you know some people do but not in the same way. So there's less of an incentive that way too" (Interviewee2, Bank5).

- To have products that can be exploited as memoriabilia gives the organization a 'natural audience'.
"[…] let's say of a Coca-Cola, who has who knows how many people out there that will be going into a Coca-Cola memorabilia site. Because there's a ton of people out there who collect Coca-Cola memorabilia. Metal trays, anything that's got the Coke thing on it. So the Coke archives has a natural audience […] General Foods, all these companies that are more on the manufacturing side, the product side. When you're in the financial services industry, what do I do? Well is anybody really interested in the history of a credit card? No. Nobody cares" (Bank4).

Developing Interdepartmental Ties
- Building into other areas processes to collect their records.
"There's no, we're a very disparate group […] But you know we're, they are not providing us with any information nor do I expect them to provide us with any information. We are currently working with our marketing group to try and have us built into their process so that once material is created it is you know transferred on to us. Which is how it used to be in the 1990s. But there's no, no there's no mechanism in place […] Well it's not that it got lost. It's just that the, the framework that, and staff that supported regular acquisitions, is gone" (Interviewee2, Bank5).

- Using the services provided by other areas.
"Well and I said to Diego, if you're over there, like a precious, you know, the place where the old stuff is, where you go and, even if you had tours, it just wouldn't survive. because as soon as budget cuts come, as soon as times get tough […] You don't have a role to play. There's no perceived role in what it is various parts of the organization are trying to do. And what we've got, the advantage that we have through that heritage display program that I mentioned, and we got to that from thinking could we do a poster? And the VE Day poster outside was our first try. And when that turned out to be possible, and thanks to our graphics department. When are we entertaining them? Next week? To thank them for all the work they do for us through the year. But it is more than possible. And I've, even though the program now is whatever it is, coming up twenty years, we still, I still have colleagues in other business archives who say oh that's a great program. We could never do that! You actually could. It's, a very cost effective program. It's beloved in our retail bank, which is pretty interesting" (Interviewee1, Bank1).

Embedding the Archives in the Organization
- Establishing an informal reporting line to other department(s).
"The good thing about it is that the law group that I report to has an understanding that you know, I do have sort of an informal dual reporting line. Because I work very strong, I have a very strong relationship with our brand and corporate communications. Because what we do on that side is really strengthening RBC's brand […] So you know, we do that

corporate image enhancing stuff that they plug into. I mean we're just going to do a revamp of our external website, RBC.com, the history site which is out of date now but it's out there. I'm doing that, working with corporate communications […] I don't work with the law group there […] I think we've come a long way and I think it's not just us. I think it's the organization. They understand that maintaining and sort of preserving the corporate culture is important" (Bank4).

- Working across the business lines.
"They didn't see, you know, where we were able to link, Jane has linked this program across the business lines. You've got to be in there or else you're pretty much dead. You know I come from a government background too and they didn't a very good job. They would say well you need to network through various ministries and have your presence felt. Not every ministry even knew that the, this one hundred year old organization existed. You know. But here, when we came here I saw beauty. Jane had the place plugged in right across the bank. And it helps us […] We're relevant. We're relevant" (Interviewee2, Bank1).

Client-Service Orientation

- Efficiently answering department requests.
"I mean our focus is on answering internal requests as efficiently and, just to the best of our ability. So as soon as we get an email saying we need something, we will immediately give them anything and extra. Like everything they want plus extra. So they, they can count on us. They know that we answer them right away. They're not waiting days. And they're getting, if they just want to know this, we'll let them know about this and these related subjects. So they're completely aware of everything that's going on. So because of that they really count on us. And they come to us" (Interviewee1, Bank2).

- Work on the interests of the clients.
"And that goes back to, we've had, we treat the other departments as client. I said you know there really isn't a difference between an outside researcher and an inside to the extent that we treat everybody as clients. And once you've done that we've demonstrated over and over again that we, we will do things in a fast turn around time, we will do things thoroughly, we will, you know advise you of something that you might not have thought of. When you have that over and over again there's that strength based on a performance record, then you're listened to by these, you know, the relationships you've built and the spheres that you influence. And that helps you. There's no way, I don't think that there would be a position, to be honest, you know I could be executive vice president in charge of archives and it would still be, so what. Seriously. Unless you had built the relationships across the business lines, where it's in their best interests. Where they see a value to their career, their operation, in what you do. That's the only way that I think that you'd ever be as effective" (Interviewee1, Bank1).

Preserving Memory and History

- Preserving records not legally required.
"So basically in the last few years [Bank3] has acquired several banks in the United States and we are now quite a large entity in the United States and have as many locations in the United States as we do in Canada. So to give you some idea, we're truly a North American bank now. It's not just a Canadian bank. It's a North American bank. Mostly it's centered on the north eastern United States and along the eastern seaboard down to Florida. That's kind of like the U. S. footprint right now. So some of those kind of

predecessor entities, there's about roughly three hundred predecessor entities that make, through mergers and acquisitions, um, go into our U. S. history. And a lot of them are quite early, you know dating to the early 1800s. So there's a lot of history there. And there is no archival program at this time in the United States so we're just looking to establish a U. S. archival program that will simply try to capture and preserve historical material relating to all our U. S. entities. And we will be keeping it in the United States so it will be a separate kind of a U. S. archives […] Yeah so what we'd be capturing wouldn't be legally required. This is just for business purposes, in the interest to make sure we retain our own history" (Bank3).

- Preserving records for historical significance.

"And you know, you wouldn't be able to do that if you didn't have […] an archivist. Because as much as you can have records and finding aids, it's still about that person, you still need that person to get that information Well you know some things we keep not for regulatory purposes. We keep because they are of historical significance. So, but only, only the internal archivist would know whether or not X document is of significance or not. So you would have to know, you know, our past involvement with sports teams, with people. Past CEOs, you know. So you don't, the documents themselves are still very important. We are working on a project that I can't say, but where we have an original letter from 18… whenever, and in that physical object comes a great story. And without that thing, I think it would take away from the story you're creating" (Interviewee1, Bank5).

Boundary Work

Expanding Jurisdiction

- Finding complementary niches and roles that can play and support.

"But we never had the luxury of having that, somebody assuming that we had a right to exist […] We can't say well you know, so we have to, on a monthly basis, I don't want to sound too extreme but we have to prove our worth […] So we have to always, constantly find a niche to be able to support the day to day business functions of this organization […] we've transitioned from being a pure history shop, which we could afford to be back in those days […] So now we have to find sort of roles that we can play and support, using our information management skill sets, to show that we do have value" (Bank4).

- Fine art collection as an opportunity of meet regularly with executives.

" But when the opportunity to start the bank's fine art collection came up, and it was a challenge and an opportunity […] My view was that it was a logical outgrowth of the archives because it was something that got me into the executive level on a regular basis. And any way that you could pin an archives program, especially in the corporate setting where I was alone for the first four years, was worth doing. So if interest in archives was high, that was great. But if that were waning a bit, I would have something else that might be of interest. And then I might have something else. It was that kind of, that was my view" (Interviwee1, Bank1).

Building Authority and Control

- Having powerful backup to enforce your policies and decisions.

"We do have, let me just give you an example. I'm meeting even this week, I've already met with legal this week, and the publications people, the electronic publications people in the bank who put out the information on the web […] And we had an issue that we discovered about a year ago, that this, the archives could no longer, we can no longer certify documents for the introduction as evidence in court. Because from 2002 to the

present, our electronic publishing people are leaving out dates. When these documents, like manuals, are updated. So we can never, we can't tell the court yes this is the, this was the version at this particular date in time. And we were being ignored. By the electronic publishing people. They kept saying it's a systems problem. It's a systems problem. Now I'm not a stupid guy […] They did not want to do it. Okay? They just had no interest in doing that. So a phone call to legal and say you guys are going to have a problem. We no longer can certify documents for the introduction in court. You know how fast legal got over there? The next day they had a solution. Meet with the archives and come up with a solution. So the archives provided a solution. Now the systems, all of a sudden they could do it. Within a week they had those dates on those electronic documents, going right back to 2002. And you know what the meeting Thursday's about? It's about the attachments, electronic attachments within electronic attachments. They have to get those too. And when they introduce it to policy. So they're going to come over here. They're going to examine our workflow and they'll be doing the corrections accordingly. But you know they didn't listen to us. Who are you guys? After telling them for two years this is a problem. You're going to put the bank at risk. One phone call to legal, and explain to legal you're going to have a problem because I can't certify your documents any more. Bang. One week after, there were dates and paths on those electronic documents" (Interviewee2, Bank1).

- Records management as the controlling arm of the archives.
"We, when we took over our brokerage arm, McLeod, Young, Weir, which is now Scotia MacLeod, they had deal books. That's a good example I think. Deal books are exactly what they say. They are all the records of the deal, at the end of the deal, are put together. There was a huge problem in the process because they were put together by the junior on the deal. The junior often was gone at the end of the fiscal year, Halloween. So five years later, you'd have very high priced executives sitting around the table trying to remember the junior's name because Jim might have just put that out at whatever storage place they use under his name, hopefully, and they might someday remember that name and they might be able to access the files that they needed at that point. It was a mess. The other part was, it was more of a mess than they understood. Because often as is the case, in any organization, and again someone from the PMO's office, someone from our CEO's office calls, they're going to get what they want. because they aren't going to see that you're causing a tsunami of, you know, people distracted from their normal function in order to get that information to you, however it, whatever it takes. But with that mess underneath it, with the deal books for instance. The deal books that were put together by the junior on the thing, now they're put together by the outside law firm, even better. So now they're all pretty, you know, and they were hard copy. But they were not controlled in any way. So finding them again became an issue. I think that the overall was about 80,000 boxes that Scotia MacLeod had at Iron Mountain. But I think 30,000, something in that range, were the deal books anyway […] It was somewhere in the range of 30,000. So. How do you deal with that? Well I went to one of the head executives of Scotia, don't forget I don't know any of these people. Now I'm walking into a room, it's back to that shy archivist thing. Walk into a room with people I don't know. But you'd better be able to get to know them real fast. And so I'm walking through, telling him what I think they should be doing. And it's, I don't even know what deal books are. I know that there's some legislation involved. I know that they've got some administrative value. I know that Scotia MacLeod, Scotia Capital thinks highly of them. So I think well they're important then. So we've got to, we've got to talk about them. And he walked over and pulled a binder of a current deal off to show me what a deal book looked like. Unfortunately whoever had used the binder before hadn't bothered putting the pages back in so when he pulled the binder, everything splayed across the floor […] And he

turned to me and he said you do not have to convince me anymore, or you don't have to go any further do you. And I said no I don't think so. I think you've got a problem. So with that we put together a project that ended up being, I guess four years anyway, a number of years, of a two step where we brought the things in on skids, a trained archivist researched the legislation involved, and they bought us a planetary camera. And we microfilmed the, the documents, or microfiche. We microfilmed and then we scanned from there so there was a two step, or that was the theory. We converted our processing room. We gave it over totally to this project because it was on a fast track. We really had to get it done. And we ended up finding that you know the majority of the boxes would have things like nerf balls and IBM manuals that hadn't come out of their plastic and all sorts of junk. because whoever was tasked with putting those out at Iron Mountain had just filled the box with everything that was cluttering up their desk area and shipping it on out. No control over description, so you had no idea what was in there. And no control. Of course Iron Mountain didn't care. They could stay there forever because the meter was ticking. You know. So it, nobody cared. So we actually cleaned up an extraordinary mess. And did it, to make a long story even longer, did it in such a way that it was clear to the executives that we were a cheap date. We did not cost a lot of money doing this project. For us it was, you know, anything beyond $1.50 is a big amount of money for our archives. but for a big operation like Scotia MacLeod, not so much. But we were, they understood, without our having to go into any more detail, that this was, we were able to actually take care of these things. And then when they saw that, and came in during the process of that, they saw how well we took care of other things. Like the various websites that are all over the organization. Which is true of any organization. Of the publications within this organization. Again it's true of any organization. How are you going to capture that? Well, we've got a staff member who, you know, dedicates himself to doing exactly that. So with one of those executives coming in, seeing this, they stopped sending the publications out to Iron Mountain or to their own internal library. They send them directly here. Because they can see that there's a way that they, again it's to their advantage. They know that they can access them any time they want. They know that they're going to be controlled here […] They were not even familiar with how long they needed to keep those deal books. And we found that they only needed to keep them legally for like ten years […] Now we have all this space we can save. We can get rid of all this stuff. That's a records solution […] You know it was just a matter of getting the understanding what the business function is" (Interviewee1, Bank1).

- Loosing authority and control to other departments.
  "I think it's interesting because we did have a conversation recently with the person who manages, and marketing is a very involved area that I don't fully understand. It's got a lot of technology incorporated into it, getting more and more complex. But we spoke to someone because we wanted to talk about records that we're keeping and that they felt that we might get some push back from the legal area as to what we're not keeping. Because it was designated under the records management retention area as a seven year retention. After it was created, then seven years after that it could be destroyed. Whereas we're keeping it forever. And they felt there might be some liabilities to the bank there. About keeping part of the material past its retention period. So we haven't followed up on that discussion yet but it was a concern that they had. Well I don't know if they will let them keep this stuff now […] And we use it for a variety of purposes. We use it to support legal sometimes in their research, because it will tell us when a product was launched, what we were saying the product, and when I say product I mean like a bank account" (Interviewee1, Bank5).

Outreaching Work

Historytelling

- Educating and building pride around bank history.
  "So all those reference requests come through me. I provide the research and answers to them. That's a large part of my job, is providing that research services. And then the rest of my job is as I mentioned earlier, acquiring records, preserving them and arranging them. But then also the archivist has kind of a role as being the corporate historian so I do a lot of outreach. So things like writing articles on our internet site, kind of like blogging about your history. So sharing kind of pieces of our history and profiling images and things like that for employees. So that we can kind of, not only teach people about the archives but also teach them about the history of the bank and build pride around that" (Bank3).

- Creating ties to the community by marketing history.
  "And we're also currently working on this display in Winnipeg. So it's an interactive heritage display with fancy machines where you touch screens and all that. And it's, it's basically merging history and advertising in a way. Because we're saying this is the history of BMO. So we're proud of our history, we're proud of being in your community, we're proud of being in Manitoba, we're proud of being in Winnipeg. And then there's a section where it's specifically BMO in Winnipeg and Manitoba. So we'll talk about specific instances where we've helped Winnipeg or Manitoba […] so we're ally relating it to the community. So we're showing awareness, we're showing like our friendship, our relationships with the community […] So it's not only showing history but it's showing that we're involved. And so by doing all of this, we're advertising for the bank. We're saying we're friendly right? We're working with you […] But that's marketing. Essentially. I mean you're using history to market, to create that relationship, which is what we have" (Interviewee2, Bank2).

Spreading the Word

- Open to the public.
  "I think that I have said it long enough and walked it long enough that people understand that it's good for us to have external researchers. It's good for us to be open to the public. That you're not perceived to be hiding stuff away. Now do understand, this was the first Canadian bank archives and I was out there being the missionary […] Teasing, but, because I finally, I used to be very, I was very proud of that. And I used to say it to the executives, you know. And then I realized that bankers, like a lot of other companies, they like to be a leader but they don't like to be the only one doing things. They like other people in the pool. So I went out to the other banks and started you know preaching" (Interviewee1, Bank1).

- Establishing external ties
  "So that's we've got working relationships with leading Canadian contemporary artists, and that's worked because they, we then sponsor exhibitions, like Ed Burtynsky's oil exhibition that's still touring. It started in 2009 in Washington and it's been touring North America ever since. And it's, another version of it is touring Europe. But with that we get to bring staff, to bring clients, to focus, to have events, to maybe be introduced as the corporate archivist who also runs the art collection. And often I, […] I'm the only archivist in the room. You are the first archivist that somebody's ever met. You are, and you've got to be prepared for that. It's something that I think if you don't engage and then exude the confidence and the excitement the profession yields, people are going to walk away. You're going to miss that opportunity. If however you engage and are enthusiastic about

what you do, I think that it's a great chance to make more people enthusiastic about the thing that, you know, some of us dedicate our lives to. So why not?" (Interviewee1, Bank1).

Creating a Professional Community

- Informal network of bank archivists.
  "Well the other, on a personal level, all the bank archivists, we all know each other. And every so often we'll go out for lunch, dinner or something. Because most of us are in Toronto […] I don't know if you've been to them yet […] But we all know each other and we will all, there's no hesitation to email and say I'm having this issue, have you had something similar? or look out there's a crazy researcher, which does happen from time to time. But, so there's a very, I would consider a very collegial relationship between the bank archivists. And I should say financial institutions because the big insurance companies too […] Several of them have archives. And they would have a similar function and relationship" (Interviewee2, Bank5).

- Building training and certification programs.
  "Training at that point, you had to be an archivist to get trained as an archivist. Because you weren't allowed into the training program at the PAC without actually having a job in an archives. It was not thought through. But that was our only training. And we spent a lot of energy in the 70s putting together masters' programs in Canada. There was lots of talk in the States and in Canada and in Canada we talked about it but we actually did it. Where we put a masters of archival science in play. And it was a lot of persuading and a lot of hard work but we actually did it. In the States they ended up doing, and a lot of my American colleagues will talk about it, they ended up doing some very good programs but it was a hit and miss thing. And often you were subsumed within either the library or the history department. And I mean subsumed; not encouraged and made to flourish, but rather kept tamped down […] So on top of, we built that Academy of Certified Archivists on top of, and that was to, it was necessary in the States and I'd say it was really a corporate archives drive. It was various of the corporate […] archivists who saw the value in certification. Who saw that if we had that kind of, here's a standard that we can guarantee that you've reached at least that standard, that that would really translate for young archivists who were going to be, with a transferable skills thing for one thing. But that you were going to be working in various jobs, lots of mobility and even beyond the borders of the U. S. So you know it became something that was really seen as a value" (Interviewee1, Bank1).